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WORKS

OF THE

REV. JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED BY

THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

A NEW EDITION, IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

CORRECTED AND REVISED

BY JOHN NICHOLS, F. A. S.

EDINBURGH AND PERTH.

VOLUME VI.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DURELL AND CO.

1812.

LENOX LIBRARY
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SOME REMARKS

ON

THE BARRIER TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND THE

STATES GENERAL.

To which are added,

The said Barrier Treaty, with the two separate Articles; part of the Counter-project; the Sentiments of Prince EUGENE and Count ZINZENDORF upon the said Treaty; and a Representation of the English Merchants at Bruges.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1712.

PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse called, The Conduct of the Allies, I had thoughts either of inserting, or annexing the Barrier Treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that famous treaty, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers *in general* seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it has been laid before the house of commons.

That I may give some light to the reader who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the counter-project; and was the measure, whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a treaty of barrier with the States.

I have added a translation of this counter-project in those articles where it differs from the barrier treaty, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eu-

gene of Savoy, and the Count de Zinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniences they already felt, and farther apprehended from this barrier treaty.

SOME REMARKS

ON

THE BARRIER TREATY, &c.

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography; he would conceive their high mightinesses the States-general to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and her majesty to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in their stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their protection; and in return, honoured us so far as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians, upon some of their outlying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great-Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expense; after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should toward the close of a war enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assist-

ing to preserve her queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all her majesty's enemies and allies put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers (I say nothing of the person immediately employed;) and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The counter-project of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience; I have said something of it in the preface; her majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible, that our good allies and friends could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, surely might have remained; which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the French king has lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself; among the one and twenty articles of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well that it is, in consequence,

the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a protestant prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other, against any invader, with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and Holland; which was or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession, to all intents and purposes, as this in the barrier treaty; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France; but their high mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier, from what it formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late king was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a barrier to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering of those provinces to the King of Spain; but in this treaty, the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chattellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders; and upon any appearance of war, they may put their garrisons into any other place of the

Low-countries; and farther, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the King of Spain is not to possess one single town in the Low-countries, until a peace be made? The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six and thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed; to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late King of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chattellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the King of Spain is obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add over and above a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States; so that, after a peace, nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will, in effect, be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot without some contempt take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people, that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenue of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lisle and some others.

Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred thousand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which, before, they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King Charles III, that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low-countries?

But suppose, by a Dutch barrier, must now be understood *only* what is to be in possession of the States; yet, *even* under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a barrier against France; whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty can be of no use at all in such a barrier. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself, (the present oracle and idol of the party here) who says, that Dendermond, Ostend, and the castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier; nor can be of other use than to make the States-general masters of the Low-countries, and hinder their trade with England; and farther, that those who are acquainted with the country, know very well, that to fortify Lier and Halle, can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant.

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs; under which pretence, they

will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This, Prince Eugene likewise foresaw; and in his observations upon this treaty, here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient barrier, for them, I know no remedy, from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them whatever shall be thought necessary besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her majesty's subjects conceive, that in the towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a barrier, either the States should demand, or our ministers allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late King of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to, or coming from Newport or Ostend, are to pay the same duties, as those that pass by the Schelde under the Dutch forts: and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that after they have paid the King of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are made liable to farther duties, when they are carried thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests: and desire only the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late King of Spain, Charles II. And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight per cent. from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising, in the very same article, where our good friends and allies are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the queen is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the King of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or as the people most favoured. This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys-play; "Cross I win, and pile* you lose;" or "what's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." Now if it should happen, that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their *boys*-play, and challenge half by virtue of that article: or would they be content with military government and the revenues, and reckon them among what shall be thought necessary for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our trade, ought, in reason, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us, for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnership; to share in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of The Conduct of the Allies, among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right, in point of policy or prudence, to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succes-

* The two sides of our coin were once nominally distinguished by cross and pile, as they are now by heads and tails. H.

sion; because by that means we put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it? To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained my meaning in the following editions. I was assured, that my lord chief justice affirmed, that passage was treason. One of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told that paragraph was read very lately during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful toward preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be whiggish; but the distinction is thus: the whigs are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? and if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the Seven Provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, popery, and the pretender? Their high mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a pro-

vince to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader, before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world, for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is likely to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, as should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: the queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the King of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier, even before King Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance, her majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited, among others, to become guarantees of our protestant succession; every petty prince in Germany

must be entreated to preserve the Queen of Great Britain upon her throne. The King of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgic lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, "Why, sirrah, are we not come here to protect you?" And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswick no care was taken to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in her present majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission,* and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or not. Neither

* Article xx.

o I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his ate majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation pon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, he language, and the principles of some certain persons n those days, and compare them with that omission; I m tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain arty would be more ready to call false and malicious, han to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise all in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who has lone me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of The Conduct of the Allies, &c. and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped lowly after; and if it arrived at all, was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours o extenuate; and the rest he distorts with such unnatural terms, that I would engage, by the same method, to disprove any history, either ancient or modern. Then he whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius hey are not born to: yet, after all, he allows a very great point for which I contend, confessing, in plain words, that the burden of the war has chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that next to England they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think that my intelligence

was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto therefore the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us, is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who, playing at hazard at the groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. "Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little." They told him his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It has been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced, justified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopped the second edition, and made all possible inquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and

then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than a hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with the race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: to give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the most petty princes, he says that I mean crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the whigs call answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who *is so* positive in asserting his own facts, and contra*dicting* mine; he affirms, that the business of Toulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens that nothing relating to the affair of Toulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villanous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value, as to think that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse

of the medal; we shall see our neighbours, who in their utmost distress called for our assistance, become by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand veterans ready to invade us from that country, which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

THE BARRIER TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL.

Her majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords, the States-general of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and security of their kingdoms and states, and the public tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side, the succession to the crown of Great Britain in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, that the States-general of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France and others who would surprise or attack them: and her majesty and the said States-general apprehending with just reason the troubles and the mischiefs which may happen in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person, or any power, who should call it in question; and that the countries and states of the said lords the States-general were not furnished with such a barrier. For these said reasons her said majesty the Queen of Great Britain, although in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health (in which may God preserve her

many years) out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the lords the States-general of the United Provinces into a particular alliance and confederacy; the principal end and only aim of which shall be the public quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new wars. It is with this view, that her British majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she hath already with the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn-Regis, privy counsellor of her British majesty, captain of her said majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk; and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, to the Sieurs John de Weldern, Lord of Valburg, great bailiff of the Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick, Baron of Reede, Lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West-Friesland, keeper of the great seal, and superintendant of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheel, Lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteyn, &c.; Gedeon Hoeuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Sminia, secretary of the chamber of the accounts of the province of Friesland; Ernest Ittersum, Lord of Osterbof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overyssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords of the States-general on the part respectively of the provinces of Guelder, Hol-

land, West-Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands, who, by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

The treaties of peace, friendship, alliance and confederacy between her Britannic majesty and the States-general of the United Provinces shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour, as if they were inserted word for word.

ARTICLE II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament, passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty King William III. the title of which is, "An act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject;" and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great-Britain, &c. in the line of the most serene house of Hanover, and in the person of the Princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born; and although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of Great-Britain; if it shall happen nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the most serene house of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or in-

directly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great-Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States-general engage and promise to assist and maintain in the said succession her or him to whom it shall belong by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking of such possession, or in the actual possession, of the aforesaid succession.

ARTICLE III.

Her said majesty and the States-general, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the emperor, the late King of Great-Britain, and the States-general, the seventh of September, 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low-countries.

ARTICLE IV.

And farther, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

ARTICLE V.

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, among other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great-Britain will use her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low-countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

ARTICLE VI.

That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it, as they shall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify, the ports off Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas being joined to the fortification of the Sluce, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rodenhuyse on this side Gand shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States-general may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spanish Low-countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts, and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

The said States-general shall also have liberty to appoint, in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses (exclusive of all others;) still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of King Charles the Third.

ARTICLE X.

That, besides, the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and farther to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the States-general shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the time of the death of the late King Charles II.; and, besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low-countries, which the said king was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expenses in the towns

and places above mentioned. And, that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expenses, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly, for including, with the jurisdiction of Ypres, that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle, the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

ARTICLE XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low-countries shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any one of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority, of the most Christian king, or any one of the line of France.

ARTICLE XIII.

And whereas the said States-general, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with King Charles the Third, for putting the States in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the Queen of Great-Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that her said majesty will continue her good offices, until the above-mentioned convention between the States and the said King Charles the Third be concluded agreeably to what is before-mentioned: and that her majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

And, that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low-countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time the said King Charles III. shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low-countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the queen shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a year above mentioned.

ARTICLE XV.

And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster, in the fourteenth article, that the river Schelde, as also the canals of Sas, Swyn, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders shall be and remain charged with all such imposts, and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Schelde, and the other canals above mentioned:

The queen of Great-Britain promises and engages, that their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly nor indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the seaports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas, by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of Munster, his majesty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great-Britain and the Hans-towns, who were then the people the most favourably treated; her Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise to take care, that the subjects of Great Britain, and of their high mightinesses, shall be treated in the Spanish Low-countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured.

ARTICLE XVI.

The said queen and States-general oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most serene house of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before mentioned; and to maintain the said States-general in the possession of the said barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

After the ratifications of the treaty, a particular convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said queen and the said lords the States-general will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

ARTICLE XVIII.

If her British majesty, or the States-general of the United Provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist

one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his imperial majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her British majesty and the States-general of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ARTICLE XX.

And as time has shown the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, now reigning; and that, for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the death of the late King William III. of glorious memory; her majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the most serene house of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France has promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person

who pretends to be King of Great Britain; and that no negotiation or formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into but jointly, and a the same time, with the said queen, or with her ministers.

ARTICLE XXI.

Her British majesty and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and the deputies of the lords the States-general, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersun.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen:
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

As in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, among other things, that the lords the States-general shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also, that the garrisons which are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of the lords the States-general,

in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liege, and the town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire: and as the barrier which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty for the mutual guarantee between her British majesty and the lords the States-general, cannot give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne are absolutely necessary (experience having thrice shown, that France having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places above mentioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces.) And farther, as in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, his majesty King Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places than that equivalent can avail: to the end therefore that the lords of the States-general may have the upper quarter of Guelder with entire property and sovereignty; and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said lords the States-general, in the convention, or the treaty that they are to make with his majesty King Charles III. according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also that their garrisons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire; her majesty the queen of Great Britain engages herself, and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this, as she has

engaged herself to make for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low-countries. In testimony whereof the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords the States-general, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

As the lords the States-general have represented, that in Flanders the limits between Spanish Flanders and that of the States are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniences, as has been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence that it was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is necessary, for avoiding these and other sorts of inconveniences, that the lands of the States upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts should by that means be better covered: her British majesty, entering into the just motives of the said lords the States-general in *this respect*, promises and engages herself by this sepa-

rate article, that in the convention which the said lords the States-general are to make with his majesty King Charles the Third, she will assist them, as that it may be agreed, that by the cession to the lords the States-general of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate such like and other inconveniences, their limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their security; and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their towns, places, and forts, to the end that these may not be so exposed any more. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords the States-general, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The Articles of the COUNTER-PROJECT, *which were struck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier Treaty; with some Remarks.*

ARTICLE VI.

To this end their high mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, viz. Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.

REMARKS.

In the barrier treaty, the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, viz. Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas (which is to be in property to the States,) and the fort of Rhodenhuysen to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rhodenhuysen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts, and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier treaty it is said: in case of an apparent attack, or war, without specifying against France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Beside some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues in the barrier treaty are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies *of the towns and places*, which the States shall have for

their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the late King of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the Queen of Great Britain and *their* high mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said King Charles the Third, relating to the Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy at present as much as it is possible a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain: especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between the emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States-general, concluded the seventh of September, 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a barrier for the States-general; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain and the States-general agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy as well as the Spanish Low-countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France above mentioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience has shown of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers sent out from that port: insomuch that France by her unmeasurable ambition may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the Queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the public re-

pose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burdensome war; therefore the said Queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and rased, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria; and the other, about demolishing, those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article, which I think clearly shows the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to the emperor, but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing Dunkirk, I am not at all surprised to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, does more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The sentiments of Prince EUGENE *of Savoy, and Count* DE ZINZENDORF, *relating to the barrier States-general, to the upper quarter of Guelder, the towns of the electorate of Cologn, and of the rick of Liege.*

ALTHOUGH the orders and instructions of the c Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters abo tioned, do not go so far as to give directions for w lows; notwithstanding, the prince and count abo tioned, considering the present state of affairs, ar following opinion:

First. That the counter-project of England, rel the places where the States-general may put an garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Hall tify, and the castle of Gand. Provided, likewi the sentiments of England be particularly confor relating to Dendermond and Ostend, as places in belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as tle of Gand, can only serve to make the States- masters of the Low-countries, and hinder trade wi land. And as to Lier and Halle, those who quainted with the country know that these towns give any security to the States-general: but c make people believe, that these places being would rather serve to block up Brussels and th great cities of Brabant.

Secondly. As to what is said in the seventh a the counter-project of England, relating to the au tion of garrisons in the towns of the barrier in ca open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of t prince and count; who think likewise, that the to be added to the eighth article, that no goods chandise should be sent into the towns where th

general shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And to this end the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly. As to the ninth article, relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States-general shall have their garrisons; the said prince and count are of opinion, that the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States-general: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the King of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers to assist them in the execution; in which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly. As to the tenth article there is nothing to be added, unless that the States-general may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expense. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly. As to the eleventh article they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil economy of the country. But the said prince and count are of opinion, that the States-general ought to

have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly. And the convention which shall be made on this affair between his catholic majesty and the States-general shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said prince and count think it possible for his catholic majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their imperial and catholic majesties will sooner abandon the Low-countries than to take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said prince and count are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-general may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said prince and count are of opinion, that the States-general may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond, and Staffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the electorate of Cologn, Liege, and Huy to the bishopric of Liege, it is to be understood, that these being imperial towns, it does not depend upon the emperor to consent that foreign garrisons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. *But whereas* the States-general demand them only for

their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garrison of imperial troops of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to rase one or other of the said towns.

The representation of the English merchants at Bruges, relating to the Barrier Treaty.

DAVID WHITE and other merchants, her majesty's subjects residing at Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent:

THAT whereas the cities of Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-general; and that we her majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade as the said States-general shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States-general, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as to our great surprise is exacted from us on the following goods, viz. butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other products of her majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of

entry to the King of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods and all others from their dominions by a free pass or transire to the said new conquests: and we are under apprehension, that if the said new conquests be settled, or given entirely into the possession of the States-general for their barrier (as we are made to believe by a treaty lately made by her majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague) that the States-general may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier: by which her majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her majesty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the United Provinces; such as English and Scots salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that her majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of her majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty, beside that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impossible for

any nation in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West-Indies without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoros, cajant, picoses, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France are, to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswick. The enlarging her majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

A PROPOSAL

FOR CORRECTING, IMPROVING, AND ASCERTAINING, THE ENGLISH TONGUE,*

IN

A LETTER TO THE MOST HONOURABLE ROBERT EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER, LORD HIGH TREASURER OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

First printed in 1712.

* This proposal was cavalierly censured by an anonymous writer, supposed to be Mr. Oldmixon, in "Reflections on Dr. Swift's Letter to the Earl of Oxford, about the English Tongue, 1712." N.

"I have been six hours to-day morning writing nineteen pages of a letter to lord treasurer, about forming a society, or academy, to correct and fix the English language. It will not be above five or six more. I will send it him to-morrow; and will print it, if he desires me." Journal to Stella, Feb. 21, 1711-12.

"I finished the rest of my letter to lord treasurer to-day, and sent it to him." Ibid. Feb. 22.

"Lord treasurer has lent the long letter I writ him to Prior; and I can't get Prior to return it. I want to have it printed; and to make up this academy for the improvement of our language." Ibid. March 11.

"My letter to the lord treasurer about the English tongue, is now printing; and I suffer my name to be put at the end of it, which I never did before in my life." Ibid. May 10, 1712.

"Have you seen my letter to the lord treasurer? There are two answers come out to it already, though it is no politics, but a harmless proposal about the improvement of the English tongue. I believe, if I writ an essay upon a straw, some fool would answer it." Ibid. May 31.

"You never told me how my letter to lord treasurer passes in Ireland." Ibid. July 1.

"What care I, whether my letter to lord treasurer be commended there or not? Why does not somebody among you answer it, as three or four have done here?" Ibid. July 17.

A PROPOSAL

FOR CORRECTING, IMPROVING, AND ASCERTAINING

THE

ENGLISH TONGUE.

London, February 22, 1711-12.

MY LORD,

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship some time ago in conversation, was not a new *thought*, just then started by accident or occasion, but *the* result of long reflection; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments, by the opinion of some very judicious persons, with whom I consulted. They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater use toward the improvement of knowledge and politeness, than some effectual method for correcting, enlarging, and ascertaining our language: and they think it a work* very possible to be compassed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a ministry, and the care of proper persons chosen for such an undertaking.† I was glad to find your lordship's answer in so different a style, from what has been commonly made use of on the like occa-

* This sentence is uncouth, and ungrammatical, and may easily be amended thus—'And they think it very possible to compass the work,' &c. S.

† "Dr. Swift proposed a plan of this nature (the forming a society to fix a standard to the English language) to his friend, as he thought him, the Lord Treasurer Oxford, but without success; precision and perspicuity not being in general the favourite objects of ministers, and perhaps still less so of *that* minister than any other." CHESTERFIELD.

sions, for some years past, That all such thoughts must be deferred to a time of peace: a topic, which some have carried so far, that they would not have us by any means think of preserving our civil or religious constitution, because we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the distinguishing marks of your ministry, my lord, that you have a genius above all such regards, and that no reasonable proposal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confess the merit of this candour and condescension is very much lessened, because your lordship hardly leaves us room to offer our good wishes; removing all our difficulties, and supplying our wants, faster than the most visionary projector can adjust his schemes. And therefore, my lord, the design of this paper is not so much to offer you ways and means, as to complain of a grievance, the redressing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the nation's debts, or opening a trade into the South-Sea; and though not of such immediate benefit, as either of these, or any other of your glorious actions, yet, perhaps, in future ages not less to your honour.

My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, complain to your lordship, as first minister, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar. But lest your lordship should think my censure too severe, I shall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordship will agree with me in the reason, why our language is less refined than those of

Italy, Spain, or France. 'Tis plain, that the Latin tongue in its purity was never in this island, toward the conquest of which, few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever so vulgar in Britain, as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Farther, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country against the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Mean time the Britains, left to shift for themselves, and daily harassed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who, consequently, reduced the greatest part of the island to their own power, drove the Britains into the most remote and mountainous parts, and the rest of the country, in customs, *religion*, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reason, why there are more Latin words* remaining in the British tongue, than in the old Saxon, which, excepting some few variations in the orthography, is the same in most original words with our present English, as well as with the German and other Northern dialects.

Edward the Confessor having lived long in France, appears to be the first who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a fashion, as it is now with us. William the Conqueror proceeded much farther; bringing over with him vast

* "As for our *English* tongue; the great alterations it has undergone in the two last centuries are principally owing to that vast stock of *Latin* words which we have transplanted into our own soil; which being now in a manner exhausted, one may easily presage that it will not have such changes in the two next centuries Nay, it were no difficult contrivance, if the public had any regard to it, to make the *English* tongue immutable; unless hereafter some foreign nation shall invade and over-run us." BENTLEY.

numbers of that nation, scattering them in every monastery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it universal in the kingdom. This at least is the opinion generally received: but your lordship has fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progress here under Harry the Second, who had large territories on that continent both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For some centuries after, there was a constant intercourse between France and England, by the dominions we possessed there, and the conquests we made; so that our language, between two and three hundred years ago, seems to have had a greater mixture with French, than at present: many words having been afterward rejected, and some since the time of Spencer; although we have still retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in France. I could produce several instances of both kinds, if it were of any use or entertainment.

To examine into the several circumstances by which the language of a country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide field. I shall only observe, that the Latin, the French, and the English, seem to have undergone the same fortune. The first, from the days of Romulus to those of Julius Cæsar, suffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in those authors who occasionally speak on that subject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifest that the Latin, three hundred years before Tully, was as unintelligible in his time, as the English and French of the same period are now; and these two have changed as much since William the Conqueror, (which is but little less than seven hundred years) as the Latin appears to have done in the

like term. Whether our language, or the French, will decline as fast as the Roman did, is a question, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reasons for the corruptions of the last: as the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the study of eloquence, there being no farther use or encouragement for popular orators: their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to several towns in Gaul, Spain, and Germany, and other distant parts, as far as Asia; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into Rome: the slavish disposition of the senate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyric, the most barren of all subjects: the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to express it, with several others that might be assigned; not to mention those invasions from the Goths and Vandals, which are too obvious to insist on.*

The Roman language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay: and the French, for these last fifty years, has been polishing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconstancy of that people, and the affectation of some late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the most ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes use of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the English tongue is not arrived to such a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; and if it were once refined to a certain standard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at least till

* This is ungrammatical; it should be—'which are too obvious *to be insisted on*.' S.

we are invaded and made a conquest* by some other state; and even then our best writings might probably be preserved with care, and grow into esteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without such great revolutions as these (to which we are, I think, less subject than kingdoms upon the continent) I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary. From Homer to Plutarch are above a thousand years; so long at least the purity of the Greek tongue may be allowed to last, and we know not how far before. The Grecians spread their colonies round all the coasts of Asia Minor, even to the northern parts lying toward the Euxine, in every island of the Ægean sea, and several others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preserved entire for many ages, after they themselves became colonies to Rome, and till they were overrun by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The Chinese have books in their language above two thousand years old, neither have the frequent conquests of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spanish, and Italian, have admitted few or no changes for some ages past. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of: neither is there any occasion to consider them.

Having taken this compass, I return to those considerations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your lordship. The period, wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. 'Tis true, there was a very ill taste both of style and wit, which prevailed under King James the First; but that seems to

* It should be—'made a conquest *of*,' &c. S.

have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt, whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equalled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded that licentiousness which entered with the restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which last was not likely to be much improved by those, who at the time made up the court of King Charles the Second; either such who had followed him in his banishment, or who had been altogether conversant in the dialect of those fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in the same country: so that the court, which used to be the standard of propriety and correctness of speech, was then, and, I think, has ever since continued, the worst school in England for that accomplishment; and so will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may set out into the world with some foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeness. The consequence of this defect, upon our language, may appear from the plays, and other compositions written for entertainment within fifty years past; filled with a succession of affected phrases, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current style of the court, or from those, who, under the character of men of wit and pleasure, pretended to give the law. Many of these refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give rise to some new word, and propagate it in most conversations, though it had neither humour nor significancy. If it struck the present taste, it was soon transferred into the plays and current scribbles of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, instead of early obviating such corruptions, were too often seduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another set of men, who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the English tongue; I mean the poets from the time of the restoration. These gentlemen, although they could not be insensible how much our language was already overstocked with monosyllables, yet, to save time and pains, introduced that barbarous custom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the measure of their verses; and this they have frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious sounds, that none but a northern ear could endure; they have joined the most obdurate consonants without one intervening vowel, only to shorten a syllable: and their taste in time became so depraved, that what was at first a poetical license, not to be justified, they made their choice, alleging, that the words pronounced at length sounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the same custom in prose: so that most of the books we see now-a-days, are full of those manglings and abbreviations. Instances of this abuse are innumerable: what does your lordship think of the words, drudg'd, disturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd, and a thousand others every where to be met with in prose as well as verse? Where, by leaving out a vowel to save a syllable, we form so jarring a sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cause (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which has contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs: and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct: all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are so fond of this conceit, that it is *sometimes* a difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are so curtailed, and varied from their original spelling, that whoever has been used to plain English, will hardly know them by sight.

Several young men at the universities, terribly possessed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worse extreme, and think all politeness to consist in reading the daily trash sent down to them from hence: this they call knowing the world, and reading men and manners. Thus furnished they come up to town, reckon all their errors for accomplishments, borrow the newest set of phrases; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffee-house, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of style; and the orthography refined to the utmost. To this we owe those monstrous productions, which, under the name of Trips, Spies, Amusements, and other conceited appellations, have overrun us for some years past. To this we owe that strange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the humour of the age. And I wish I could say, these quaint fopperies were wholly absent from graver subjects. In

short, I would undertake to show your lordship several pieces, where the beauties of this kind are so predominant, that with all your skill in languages, you could never be able to read or understand them.

But I am very much mistaken, if many of these false refinements among us do not arise from a principle, which would quite destroy their credit, if it were well understood and considered. For I am afraid, my lord, that with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual disposition to shorten our words by retrenching the vowels, is nothing else but a tendency to lapse into the barbarity of those northern nations, from whom we are descended, and whose languages labour all under the same defect. For it is worthy our observation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the same northern ancestors with ourselves, are with the utmost difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with ease, because our syllables resemble theirs in the roughness and frequency of consonants. Now, as we struggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expense of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the sun, and fence against the northern blast, we sometimes, by the help of a good soil, equal the production of warmer countries, who have no need to be at so much cost and care. It is the same thing with respect to the politer arts among us; and the same defect of heat which gives a fierceness to our natures, may contribute to that roughness of our language, which bears some analogy to the harsh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a genius more than the rest of our neighbours: but your lordship will be of my opinion, that we ought to struggle with these natural disadvantages as

much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we design to correct them, which is a work that has hitherto been assumed by the least qualified hands. So that if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have trusted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to sound, to the judgment of the women, than of illiterate court fops, half-witted poets, and university boys. For it is plain, that women, in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally discard the consonants, as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your lordship appears very trifling: that more than once, where some of both sexes were in company, I have persuaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, just as it came into their heads; and upon reading this gibberish, we have found that which the men had wrote,* by the frequent encountering of rough consonants, to sound like High Dutch; and the other, by the women, like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquids. Now, though I would by no means give ladies the trouble of advising us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking, that since they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worse designs are carried on, our conversation has very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice should be made of such persons, as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work, without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they design to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to prescribe. Your lordship, and other persons in great employments, might please to be of the number: and I am afraid such a so-

* It should be—'*had written.*' S.

ciety would want your instruction and example, as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, observed of late the style of some great ministers very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The persons who are to undertake this work, will have the example of the French before them, to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Beside the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprietics, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

But what I have most at heart, is, that some method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language for ever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, it is better a language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worse; as the Romans did, when they began to quit their simplicity of style, for affected refinements, such as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many barbarities,* even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers is usually confined to these two islands, and it is hard it should be limited in time, as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our speech. It is your lordship's observation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar

* *Barbarisms*, would here be a more proper word, as being more peculiarly appropriated to express faults and impurities in style: and *barbarity*, in general, conveying the idea of cruelty. S.

tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any thing, that was written among us a hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for those books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of standard for language, especially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations since introduced, have added much to the beauty or strength of the English tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that simplicity, which is one of the greatest perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are so conversant in the sacred writings, and so great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no translation our country ever yet produced, has come up to that of the Old and New Testament: and by the many beautiful passages, which I have often had the honour to hear your lordship cite from thence, I am persuaded, that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style much fitter for that work, than any we see in our present writings; which I take to be owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greatest part of our liturgy, compiled long before the translation of the Bible now in use, and little altered since; there seem to be in it as great strains of true sublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taste will observe in the communion service, that of burial, and other parts.

But when I say, that I would have our language, after it is duly correct, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to, be afterward antiquated and exploded,* they may have liberty to re-

* "But what (says Dr. Johnson) makes a word obsolete, more than general agreement to forbear it? and how shall it be continued, when it conveys an offensive idea? or *recalled again* into the mouths

ceive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for; because, then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinsic worth, and not thrown aside on account of unintelligible words and phrases, which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of fashion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vast spreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumstances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the ancients would still have been read and understood with pleasure and ease. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch, yet the former author was probably as well understood in Trajan's time, as the latter. What Horace says of words going off and perishing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum ære perennius.*

Writing by memory only, as I do at present, I would gladly keep within my depth; and therefore shall not enter into farther particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to show the usefulness of this design, and to make some general observations, leaving the rest to that society, which I hope will owe its institution and patronage to your lordship. Besides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to

of mankind, when it has once become unfamiliar by disuse, and unpleasing by familiarity?"—Preface to English Dictionary. N.

the public much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers; and is supposed to pursue the same design at present under the title of Spectator. This author, who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happiness to converse with; and therefore I imagine that such a society would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your lordship must allow, that such a work as this, brought to perfection, would very much contribute to the glory of her majesty's reign: which ought to be recorded in words more durable than brass, and such as our posterity may read a thousand years hence, with pleasure, as well as admiration. I always disapproved that false compliment to princes, that the most lasting monument they can have, is the hearts of their subjects. It is indeed their greatest present felicity to reign in their subjects' hearts; but these are too perishable to preserve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful historians. And I take it to be your lordship's duty, as prime minister, to give order for inspecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the history of so great and good a princess. Besides, my lord, as disinterested as you appear to the world, I am convinced that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite passion than yourself; I mean that desire of true and lasting honour, which you have borne along with you through every stage of your life. To this you have often sacrificed your interest, your ease, and your health: for preserving and increasing this, you have exposed your person to secret treachery and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in history of any min-

ister, who in so short a time has performed so many great things, and overcome so many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your queen, and love your country, as much as any of your fellow subjects, yet I must believe that the desire of fame has been no inconsiderable motive to quicken you in the pursuit of those actions, which will best deserve it. But at the same time I must be so plain as to tell your lordship, that if you will not take some care to settle our language, and put it into a state of continuance, I cannot promise that your memory shall be preserved above a hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former centuries, there was more effectual care taken by our ancestors, to preserve the memory of times and persons, than we find in this age of learning and politeness, as we are pleased to call it. The rude Latin of the monks is still very intelligible: whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, so barren and so barbarous, so subject to continual succeeding changes, they could not now be understood, unless by antiquaries, who make it their study to expound them. And we must, at this day, have been content with such poor abstracts of our English story, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us: and even these, in the next age, would be likewise swallowed up in succeeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promise your lordship, is, that about two hundred years hence, some painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of studying old language, may inform the world, that in the reign of Queen Anne, Robert Earl of Oxford, a very wise and excellent man, was made high treasurer, and saved his country, which in those days was almost ruined by a foreign war, and a domestic faction. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his

new history; but the rest of your character, which I, or any other writer may now value ourselves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your ministry, for which you are already so celebrated in most parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquated style and manner they are delivered in.

How then shall any man, who has a genius for history equal to the best of the ancients, be able to undertake such a work with spirit and cheerfulness, when he considers that he will be read with pleasure but a very few years, and in an age or two shall hardly be understood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent statuary to work upon mouldering stone. Those, who apply their studies to preserve the memory of others, will always have some concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reason, that so few writers among us, of any distinction, have turned their thoughts to such a discouraging employment; for, the best English historian must lie under this mortification, that when his style grows antiquated, he will be only considered as a tedious relater of facts; and perhaps consulted in his turn, among other neglected authors, to furnish materials for some future collector.

I doubt your lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered thoughts upon a subject, that deserves to be treated with ability and care: however, I must beg leave to add a few words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which will be justly thought very improper from one in my station to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordship's administration, you are the most inexcusable person alive. All your other vir-

tues, my lord, will be defective without this; your affability, candour, and good nature; that perpetual agreeableness of conversation, so disengaged in the midst of such a weight of business and opposition; even your justice, prudence, and magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large portion in most parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating of those many virtues, which, otherwise, would have been less adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these obligations, without letting the arts, in their turn, share your influence and protection: besides, who knows but some true genius may happen to arise under your ministry, *exortus ut æthereus sol.* Every age might perhaps produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not sunk under the censure and obloquy of plodding, servile, imitating pedants: I do not mean by a true genius any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency, to distinguish himself by the singularity of his opinions: but one, who, upon a deserving subject, is able to open new scenes, and discover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before: every stroke of whose pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compass of their lives. I know, my lord, your friends will offer in your defence, that, in your private capacity, you never refused your purse and credit to the service and support of learned or ingenious men: and that ever since you have been in public employment, you have constantly bestowed your favours to the most deserving persons. But I desire your lordship not to be deceived; we never will admit of these excuses, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your excessive public thrift. But here again I am afraid most good subjects *will interpose* in your defence, by alleging the desperate

condition you found the nation in, and the necessity there was for so able and faithful a steward to retrieve it, if possible, by the utmost frugality. We grant all this, my lord; but then it ought likewise to be considered, that you have already saved several millions to the public, and that what we ask, is too inconsiderable to break into any rules of the strictest good husbandry. The French king bestows about half a dozen pensions to learned men in several parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom: which, in the whole, do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he has otherwise employed. For, learning, like all true merit, is easily satisfied; while the false and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks it has enough. The smallest favour given by a great prince, as a mark of esteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praise and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known some years ago several pensions given to particular persons (how deservedly I shall not inquire) any one of which, if divided into smaller parcels, and distributed by the crown to those, who might upon occasion distinguish themselves by some extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply sufficient to answer the end. Or, if any such persons were above money (as every great genius certainly is with very moderate conveniences of life) a medal, or some mark of distinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myself turning projector before I am aware;* although it be one of the last

* "This letter was written without much knowledge of the general nature of language, and without very accurate inquiry into the history of other tongues. The certainty and stability, which, contrary to all experience, Swift thinks attainable, he proposes to se-

characters under which I should desire to appear befo your lordship, especially when I have the ambition aspiring to that of being with the greatest respect a truth, My LORD,

Your Lordship's
most obedient, most obliged,
and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

cure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every m would have been willing, and many would have been proud to di bey; and which being renewed by successive elections, would in short time have differed from itself." JOHNSON.

SOME

REASONS

TO PROVE

THAT NO ONE IS OBLIGED, BY HIS PRINCIPLES AS A WHIG, TO OPPOSE THE QUEEN:

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD,

[*The Lord Ashburnham.*]

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A SUPPOSED LETTER

FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

Both first printed in 1712.

"I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief." Journal to Stella, May 28, 1712.

"Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill: I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending Lord Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health! Read the letter to a Whig Lord."† Ibid. June 17.

"To-day there will be another Grub: A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord. Grub street has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every halfsheet at a halfpenny." Ibid. July 19.

† Dr. Birch, in a note on this passage, supposes it to allude to the Letter from the Pretender, which however is not dated till July 8.—It evidently relates to the larger letter. A MS. note of Charles Ford, Esq. the confidential friend of Swift, not only confirms the fact of this letter being the production of the Dean: but supplies the name of Lord Ashburnham, the peer to whom it was addressed. N

SOME

REASONS, &c.

MY LORD, &c.

THE dispute between your lordship and me has, I think, no manner of relation to what in the common style of these times are called principles; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree, if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober whigs I have conversed with did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government, which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgment, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead, to denominate men, as they are inclined to peace or war, to the last or the present ministry: for whoever thoroughly considers the matter will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship would readily allow this, if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw: for it is plain, that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those who would support and those who would violate the royal prerogative. This decision may seem perhaps too sudden and severe; but I do not see how it can be contested. Give me leave to ask your lordship, whether you are not resolved to oppose the present ministry to the utmost? and whether it was not chiefly with this de-

sign, that, upon the opening of the present session, you gave your vote against any peace till Spain and the West Indies were recovered from the Bourbon family?* I am confident your lordship then believed, what several of your house and party have acknowledged, that the recovery of Spain was grown impracticable by several incidents, as well as by our utter inability to continue the war upon the former foot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in such a juncture, was the present way of ruining the present ministry. For, as her majesty would certainly lay much weight upon a vote of either house, so it was judged that her ministers would hardly venture to act directly against it; the natural consequence of which must be a dissolution of the parliament, and a return of all your friends into a full possession of power. This advantage the lords have over the commons by being a fixed body of men, where a majority is not to be obtained, but by time and mortality, or new creations, or other methods which I will suppose the present age too virtuous to admit. Several noble lords, who joined with you in that vote, were but little inclined to disoblige the court, because it suited ill with their circumstances: but the poor gentlemen were told it was the safest part they could act; for it was boldly alleged, that the queen herself was at the bottom of this affair; and one of your neighbours,† whom the dread of losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings,

* A clause to this purpose, proposed by the Earl of Nottingham, and seconded by the Earl of Scarborough, to be added to an address to the queen, Dec. 7, 1711, was carried by a majority of not above two voices. N.

† Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset. N.

till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy, and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The queen was so far from approving what you had done, that, to show she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step,* which is like to make her easy for the rest of her reign; and which, I am confident, your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this, your party had nothing to do but sit down and murmur at so extraordinary an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity, which their own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in her majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand. We alleged, that the majority you hardly acquired with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain transitory bench, and partly of those whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends: so that it became necessary to turn the balance, by new creations; wherein, however, great care was taken to increase the peerage as little as possible,† and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised, with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honour.

* The creation of twelve new peers. N.

† This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune could admit of no exception. SWIFT.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I for that noble part of our legislature, whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than a house of commons. A standing senate of persons nobly born, of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from intending the true interest of their prince and country; whereas we have found, by experience, that a corrupt ministry, at the head of a monied faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please, to represent the people. But then, my lord, on the other side, if it has been so contrived, by time and management, that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who wilfully or otherwise mistake the public good; the cure, by common remedies, is as slow as the disease: whereas a good prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a ministry who leaves them to their own free choice, cannot miss a good assembly of commons. Now, my lord, we do assert that this majority of yours has been the workmanship of about twenty years: during which time, considering the choice of persons in the several creations; considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility who have since grown up; and the wise methods to prevent their being tainted by university principles: lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench, and with what views their successions have been supplied; I am surprised to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immortal: neither perhaps would there be any necessity to wait so long, if certain methods were put in practice, which your friends have often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the event, that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty

well agreed that they would not be ineffectual. Voting against the court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important cases, has not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless in very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so extremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argued the lowest weakness or fear. To instance only in the Duke of Marlborough; who, against the wholesome advice of those who consulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would needs put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present ministry, or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced, that the queen is altogether averse from the thoughts of ever employing your party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majority in the house of commons of the same sentiments; and the only quarrel against the treasurer is an opinion of more mildness toward your friends than it is thought they deserve; neither can you hope for better success in the next election, while her majesty continues her present servants, although the bulk of the people were better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all the advantages I lately mentioned, which a house of lords has over the commons, it is agreed that the pulse of the nation is much better felt by the latter than the former, because those represent the whole people; but your lordships (whatever some may pretend) do represent only your own persons. Now it has been the old complaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen always leaned too much (since the revolution) to the tory side: and as your numbers were much lessened about two years ago, by a very unpopular* quarrel, wherein the church thought itself deeply concerned, so

* The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell. N.

you daily diminish, by your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by the war, do so extremely want and desire.

It is probable that some persons may, upon occasion, have endeavoured to bring you over to the present measures. If so, I desire to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles, relating to government either in church or state, in which you have been educated? or did you ever hear that such a thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure, neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain, that principles are not concerned in the dispute. The two chief, or indeed, the only topics of quarrel are, whether the queen shall choose her own servants; and, whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace? And I believe there is no whig in England that will openly deny her power in either. As to the latter, which is the more avowed, her majesty has promised that the treaty shall be laid before her parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles as a whig? or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to her majesty upon this article? But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are out of place would fain be in; and that the bulk of your party are the dupes of half a dozen, who are impatient at their loss of power. It is true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present ministry and their intentions, as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made toward giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce

arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration, unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against occasional conformity, which was your own act and deed,* by a strain of such profound policy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom.

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you a hundred messages, accost you in all places, and remove heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the queen and ministry. Those who have already rendered themselves desperate have no other resource than in an utter change. But this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the queen with no more share in them than what belonged to you as a peer; although perhaps you were inclined to their persons or proceedings, more than to those of the present set. Those who are now in power cannot justly blame you for doing so: neither can your friends out of place reproach you, if you go on to serve her majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they can prove that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of you. I cannot see how your conscience or honour are here concerned; or why people who have cast off all hope should desire you to embark with them against your prince, whom you have never directly offended. It is just as if a man who had committed a murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friends and acquaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishment. Neither do I see how this will any way answer your inte-

* This bill was brought in Dec. 15, 1711, under a disguised title, by Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham. N.

rest; for, though it should possibly happen that your friends would be again taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit you to the head of affairs, or even in the secret. Every thing of consequence is already bespoke. I can tell you who is to be treasurer, who chamberlain, and who to be secretaries. These offices, and many others, have been some time fixed; and all your lordship can hope for, is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honorary employment, or an addition to your title; or, if you were poor, perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as fully open at present? and will you declare you cannot serve your queen unless you choose her ministry? Is this forsaking your principles? But that phrase is dropped of late, and they call it forsaking your friends. To serve your queen and country, while any but they are at the helm, is to forsake your friends. This is a new party figure of speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that this way of reasoning is very just, while it extends no farther than to the several members of their juntoes and cabals; and I could point out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have the utmost contempt if I saw them making any overtures to be received into trust. Wise men will never be persuaded that such violent turns can proceed from virtue or conviction: and I believe you and your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise that ignominious example of apostacy,* whom you outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared no farther in the favour and confidence of your leaders than barely to be listed of the party, cannot honourably refuse serving her majesty, and contributing what is in your power to make her government easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted.

* The Earl of Nottingham is probably here meant. N.

to the hands where you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship may count upon by acting with the present ministry is, that you shall not undergo a state inquisition into your principles; but may believe as you please, in those points of government wherein so many writers perplex the world with their explanation. Provided you heartily renounce the pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth; and if you allow her majesty's undoubted right, you may call it hereditary or parliamentary, as you think fit. The ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to protestant dissenters. They abhor arbitrary power as much as you. In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you as a whig, wherein you may not still continue, and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the court; provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view but that of putting the queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance: they will vary their political catechism as often as they please: and you must answer directly to every article, as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! whereas, upon our side, many stragglers have appeared in all divisions, even among those who believed the consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear; for which the courage, integrity, and moderation, of those at the helm cannot be sufficiently admired; though I question whether, in good politics, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behaviour of the tories during the long period of this reign while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the Duke of Marlborough till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted, *nemine contradicente.* We opposed repealing the test; which would level the church established with every snivelling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be overrun by schismatics and beggars. The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell; the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp, were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the church. But you cannot give a single instance, where the least violation hath been offered to her majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either house, by the lords or commons of our side. We should have been glad indeed to have seen affairs in other management; yet we never attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or inviting foreign ministers to direct the queen in the choice of her servants, much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir. Endeavours were not publicly used to blast the credit of the nation, and discourage foreigners from trusting their money in our funds: nor were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile persons in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where the course of affairs, under the late ministry, was any way clogged by the church party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acted against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue from hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those who are deepest

engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting the queen upon all occasions; much less you, my lord, who are not involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourself in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance those gentlemen, who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have shared among them the bounties of the crown and the spoils of the nation, and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost others, who either never received the favours of the court, or who must depend upon it for their daily support; with what countenance, I say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style: "My lord, you were always with us; you will not forsake your friends: you have been still right in your principles: let us join to a man, and the court will not be able to carry it!" and this frequently in points where whig and tory are no more concerned, than in the length or colour of your periwigs. Why all this industry to ply you with letters, messages, and visits, for carrying some peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill nature, and disobedience, without effect? Though you are flattered, it must possibly make the crown and ministry so uneasy as to bring on the necessity of a change; which however is at best a design but ill becoming a good subject, or a man of honour. I shall say nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power and profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favours cancelled. But you, my lord, upon whom the crown has never cast any peculiar marks of favour or displeasure, ought better to consider the duty you owe your sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as a member of the peerage, who have been always the strenuous asserters of just prerogative against popular encroachments, as well as of liberty against arbitrary power! So that it is something

unnatural, as well as unjust, for one of your order to oppose the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned, upon a party pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But, after all, if there were any probable hopes of bringing things to another turn by these violent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted that you acted at least a politic part: but surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship the probability of such an event during her majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty after being kept long in the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to gaol, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This her majesty and millions of her subjects firmly believe to be exactly the case; and whether it be so or no, it is enough that it is so believed: and this belief is attended with as great an aversion for those keepers as a good christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power; so that, whenever the ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which I hope is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by; though I know some of your chiefs who build all their expectations upon it.

For, indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived, when they think to distress a ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those ministers act under a queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is at the same time so thoroughly possessed of her people's hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance; and, according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so; because, when any one of the three powers whereof

our government is composed proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politics of those who cried out, "The constitution was in danger," when her majesty lately increased the peerage; without which it was impossible the two houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the whig party, can have against the court, except those which I have already mentioned; I mean, the removal of the late ministry, the dismission of the Duke of Marlborough, and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say any thing farther upon these heads; only as to the second which concerns the Duke of Marlborough, give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom or state in christendom where a person in such circumstances would have been so gently treated. But it is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure are frequently much more public than the cause: the punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark; and posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of Greece and Rome, for discarding a general, under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious; whereas it is most certain, that this great lord's resolution against peace upon any terms whatsoever did reach the ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad: nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that, as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more money here upon secret service in a few months, than he did for many years in Flanders. But whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well, that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take

when he should find himself at mercy. And the que
was brought to this issue, whether the queen shoulc
solve the present parliament, procure a new one o
whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so f
rescue her from insolence and ill usage, and invit
old controllers to resume their tyranny with a recr
spirit of vengeance? or, whether she should save al
trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing
general for another?

Whatever good opinion I may have of the pr
ministry, I do not pretend, by any thing I have sai
make your lordship believe that they are persons of
lime abstracted Roman virtue: but, where two pa
divide a nation, it usually happens, that, althougl
virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides
the public good of the country may suit better witl
private interest of one side than of the other. Per
there may be nothing in it but chance; and it mig
have happened, if things were to begin again, tha
junto and their adherents would have found it thei
vantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants,
good churchmen. However, since these parts happ
be acted by another set of men, I am not very spe
tive to inquire into the motives; but, having no a
tion at heart to mislead me, I naturally side with t
who proceed most by the maxims wherein I was ed
ted. There was something like this in the quarre
tween Cæsar and Pompey: Cato and Brutus were
two most virtuous men in Rome; the former did
much approve the intentions of the heads on either s
and the latter, by inclination, was more a frien
Cæsar: but because the senate and people gener
followed Pompey, and as Cæsar's party was only n
up of the troops with which he conquered Gaul,
the addition of some profligate deserters from R

those two excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country was at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious general, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.

I cannot dismiss your lordship without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants since 1688, which was lately thrown out of your house, for no other reason than the hopes of putting the ministry to a plunge. It was universally known, that the lord treasurer had prevailed to wave the tack in the house of commons, and promised his endeavours to make the bill pass by itself in the house of lords. I could name at least five or six of your noble friends, who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion, would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me they could name a dozen: yet, upon the hope of weakening the court, perplexing the ministry, and shaking the lord treasurer's credit in the house of commons, you went on so unanimously, that I do not hear there was one single negative in your whole list, nor above one whig lord guilty of a suspicious absence, who, being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no obligations to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point, driven on merely to make the crown uneasy at this juncture while it no way affected his principles as a whig, and which I am told was directly against his private judgment. How he has since been treated as an apostate and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on: nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which, I think,

after such usage, you justly may. For the rest, I do
your lordship's friends have missed every end they
posed to themselves in rejecting that bill. My
treasurer's credit is not any way lessened in the hous
commons. In your own house, you have been very
from making a division among the queen's friends
appeared manifestly a few days ago, when you lost
vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those
had been encouraged to hire places, upon certain
pectations of seeing a parade to the Tower.* Last
may probably happen, that those who opposed an in
sition into the grants will be found to have hardly
any very great service to the present possessors.
charge those grants with six years purchase to the
lic, and then to confirm the title by parliament, woul
effect, be no real loss to the owners, because, by su
confirmation, they would rise in value proportion
and differ as much as the best title can from the w
The adverse party knew very well, that nothing be
this was intended; but they cannot be sure what ma
the event of a second inspection, which the resent
of the house of commons will probably render mor
vere, and which you will never be able to avert
your number lessens, as it certainly must; and
the expedient is put in practice, without a tack, of
ing those grants part of a supply. From whence

* "We got a great victory last Wednesday [May 28], in the
of lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the whig
desired their friends to take places, to see lord treasurer carri
the Tower." Journal to Stella, May 31, 1712.—The motion
"To address her majesty, that she would be pleased to send ord
her general [the Duke of Ormond] to act, in concert with her
offensively against France, in order to obtain a safe and honou
peace."—This passing in the negative, a protest was entered
signed by twenty-seven lords; but the reasons for it were order
be expunged from the Journals on the 13th of June following.

plain, that the zeal against that bill arose, in a great measure, from some other cause, than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it.

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind, that you are a subject of the queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country; and, in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of conducting themselves while they are in: and then I do not despair but your own good sense will fully convince you, that the prerogative of your prince, without which her government cannot subsist; the honour of your house, which has been always the great asserter of that prerogative; and the welfare of your country, are *too* precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition, of a few party leaders.

A SUPPOSED LETTER FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.*

St. Germains, July 8, 1712.

MY LORD WHARTON,

I THANK you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In answer to what you hint that some of our friends suspect; I protest to you, upon the word of a King, and my Lord Middleton† will be my witness that I never held the least correspondence with any one person of the tory party. I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father; among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any tory, except two lords and a lady, who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it: perhaps he may be sick, or in the country. Middleton will be satisfied to be groom of the stole: and if you have Ireland, 11 may have the staff, provided 15 resigns his pretensions; in which case, he shall have six thousand pounds a year for life, and a dukedom. I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord; and I will pay his debts when I am able.

I confess, I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions; but you and my other friends are judges

* Published with an intent to throw the odium of a design to bring in the pretender, on the whigs. N.

† Charles Middleton, the second earl of that title, and Baron Clairmont, was secretary of state for Scotland from the year 1684 to the Revolution; when he followed King James into France, and was attainted by the Scots parliament in 1695. N.

it. It was with great difficulty I prevailed on the to let me sign the commission for life, though her ty is entirely reconciled. If 2 will accept the seal, which you tell me is what would please him, lary should be doubled: I am obliged to his good ions, how ill soever they may have succeeded. her parts of your plan I entirely agree with; only the party that opposes us, your proposal about y bring an odium upon my government: he stands rst excepted; and we shall have enough against n a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve domestics of my own religion; and I will give what security you please, not to hinder any designs ıave, of altering the present established worship. I have so few employments left me to dispose of, hat most of our friends are to hold theirs for life; e you will all be satisfied with so great a share of r. I bid you heartily farewell; and am your as friend.

A

PRETENDED LETTER OF THANKS

FROM

LORD WHARTON

TO THE

LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH,

IN THE NAME OF

THE KITCAT CLUB.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS ON THE BISHOP'S PREFACE.

First printed in 1712.

"Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it close the last fortnight, and published at least seven papers† of my own, beside some of other people's; but now every single half sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. The Observator is fallen; the Medleys are jumbled together with the Flying post; the Examiner is deadly sick; the Spectator keeps up, and doubles its price: I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with? methinks the stamping is worth a halfpenny." Journal to Stella, Aug, 7, 1712.

† One of these was probably the pamphlet here reprinted. N.

A

LETTER

TO

THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.*

MY LORD,

IT was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task, assigned me by the gentlemen of the Kitcat club,† of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to our sinking cause, in reprinting those most excellent discourses, which you had formerly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us till they were recommended to our perusal by the Spectator, who some time since, in

* Dr. William Fleetwood. N.

† This club, which consisted of the most distinguished wits and statesmen among the whigs, was remarkable for the strictest zeal toward the house of Hanover. They met at a little house in Shire-lane, and took their title from the real name of a pastrycook who excelled in making mutton pies, which were regularly a part of their entertainment. The portraits of this society, drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller, were all at Barnes, in the possession of the late Mr. Jacob Tonson, whose father was their secretary; and are now in the possession of William Baker, Esq. late M. P. for the county of Hertford, at his house in Hill-street. Sir Godfrey's own portrait is among them, of a smaller size than the others. From these portraits, "Kitcat" became a technical term in painting. Dr. King, who was undoubtedly a first rate writer *de re culinariâ*, has pointed out the merits of their proveditor, in his admirable Art of Cookery.

"Immortal made as Kitcat by his pies!" N.

one of his papers,* entertained the town with a paragraph out of the Postboy, and your lordship's extraordinary preface.

The world will perhaps be surprised, that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending sermons. But your lordship can work miracles, as well as write on them; and I dare assure your lordship and the world, that there is not an atheist in the whole kingdom (and we are no inconsiderable party) but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced and so learnedly maintained in those discourses.

I cannot but observe with infinite delight, that the reasons your lordship gives for reprinting those immortal pieces are urged with that strength and force which is peculiar to your lordship's writings, and is such as all who have any regard for truth, or relish for good writing, must admire, though none can sufficiently commend.

In a word, the preface is equal to the sermons: less than that ought not, and more cannot be said of it. In this you play the part of a prophet, with the same address as that of a preacher in those; and, in a strain no ways inferior to Jeremiah, or any of those old pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretel those impending miseries which seem to threaten these nations, by the introduction of popery and arbitrary power. This a man of less penetration than your lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the devil for the discovery, may justly "fear and presage, from the natural tendency of several principles and practices which have of late been so stu-

* The Spectator, No. 384, May 21, 1712.—The preface was severely reprehended by the Examiner, No. 27, May 29; and more humourously in the remarks annexed to this letter. N.

diously revived." I know your lordship means those long since exploded doctrines of obedience, and submission to princes, which were only calculated to make, "a free and happy people slaves and miserable." Who but asses, and packhorses, and beasts of burden, can entertain such servile notions? What! shall the lives and liberties of a freeborn nation be sacrificed to the pride and ambition, the humour and caprice of any one single person? Kings and princes are the creatures of the people, mere state pageants, more for show than use; and shall we fall down and worship those idols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, as long as I can hold a sword, or your lordship a pen.

It was suitable to that admirable foresight, which is so conspicuous in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual method of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of posterity, by publickly declaring to all the world, that though, in the constant course of your ministry, you have never failed, on proper occasions, to recommend the loving, honouring, and reverencing the prince's person," so as never to break his royal shins, nor tread upon his heels; yet you never intended men should pay any submission or obedience to him any longer than he acted according to the will and pleasure of his people. This, you say, is the opinion of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul: and, faith, I am glad to hear it; for I never thought that they had been whigs before. But, since your lordship has thus taught them to declare for rebellion, you may easily persuade them to do as much for profaneness and immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship, a little after, (I suppose, to strengthen the testimony of the aforementioned authors) takes care to tell us, that "this always was, and still is, your own judgment in these matters." You need

not fear we should suspect your constancy and perseverance; for my Lord Somers, that great genius, who is the life and soul, the head and heart of our party, has long since observed, that we have never been disappointed in any of our whig bishops; but they have always unalterably acted up, or, to speak properly, down to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address to do justice to every part of your incomparable preface: nor need I run riot in encomium and panegyric, since you can perform that part so much better for yourself; for you only give those praises, which you only can deserve; as you have formerly proved in the dedication of your "Essay upon Miracles,"* to Dr. Godolphin,† where you declare your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in order to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling him you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your performance, because you would not be thought to make so ill a compliment to him, as to present him with what you had not a great esteem for yourself.

Though I cannot go through the whole preface, yet I think myself obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particular manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of the whig ministry in such strong and lasting colours, as must needs cheer and refresh the sight of all whig spectators, and dazzle the eyes of the tories. Here your lordship rises, if possible, above yourself. Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of expression, so happily joined together. Heavens! such force, such energy, in each pregnant word! such fire, such fervour, in each glowing line! One would

* Which was first published in 1701. N.

† Vice provost of Eaton, and residentiary of St. Paul's. N.

think your lordship was animated with the same spirit with which our hero fought. Who can read, unmoved, these following strokes of oratory? "Such was the fame, such was the reputation, such was the faithfulness and zeal, to such a height of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was the blessing of God," &c. O! the irresistible charm of the word such! Well, since Erasmus wrote a treatise in praise of Folly,* and my Lord Rochester an excellent poem upon Nothing, I am resolved to employ the Spectator, or some of his fraternity (dealers in words), to write an encomium upon Such. But, whatever changes our language may undergo (and every thing that is English is given to change), this happy word is sure to live in your immortal preface. Your lordship does not end yet; but, to crown all, has another such in reserve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on the ways that lead to such a peace as would have answered all our prayers," &c. Now, perhaps, some snarling tory might impertinently inquire, when we might have expected such a peace? I answer, when the Dutch could get nothing by the war, nor we whigs lose any thing by a peace; or, to speak in plain terms (for every one knows I am a free speaker as well as a free-thinker) when we had exhausted all the nation's treasure (which every body knows could not have been long first) and so far enriched ourselves, and beggared our fellow subjects, as to bring them under a necessity of submitting to what conditions we should think fit to impose; and this too we should have effected, if we had continued in

* The "*Moriæ Encomium*" Erasmus wrote, within the compass of a week, at the house of his friend More, with whom he lodged on his arrival in England. A copy of it was sent to France, and printed there with abundance of faults; yet it took so well, that in a few months it went through seven editions. N.

power. But, alas! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our designs were ripe for execution, the scene changed: "God, for our sins," as your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the spirit of discord" (that is, the doctrine of obedience and submission to princes) "to go forth, and, by troubling the camp, the city, and the country (and O that it had spared the places sacred to his worship!) to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead, I know not what . . . . . ." O exquisite! how pathetically does your lordship complain of the downfall of whiggism, and Daniel Burgess's meeting house!* The generous compassion your lordship has shown upon this tragical occasion makes me believe your lordship will not be unaffected with an accident that had like to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaintance about that time, who being big with whig, was so alarmed at the rising of the mob, that she had like to have miscarried upon it; for the logical jade presently concluded (and the inference was natural enough) that, if they began with pulling down meeting houses, it might end in demolishing those houses of pleasure where she constantly paid her devotion; and, indeed, there seems a close connexion between extempore prayer and extempore love. I doubt not, if this disaster had reached your lordship before, you would

* The mob that attended Dr. Sacheverell to his trial attacked Mr. Burgess's meeting house, Feb. 28, 1709-10; and, having pulled down the pulpit, pews, &c. made a bonfire of them in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and would have thrown the preacher in, if they had found him. A proclamation was issued, March 2, offering a reward of a hundred pounds, for apprehending any of the rioters. It appears that the only two who were discovered (whose names were Damaree and Purchase) were unhappy ignorant whigs, who did not even know which party their conduct was assisting. They both received the queen's pardon. N.

have found some room in that moving parenthesis, to have expressed your concern for it.

I come now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen; I mean that expressive dash . . . . . which you give when you come to the new ministry, where you break off with an artful aposiopesis, and, by refusing to say any thing of them yourself, leave your readers to think the worst they possibly can. Here your lordship shows yourself a most consummate orator, when even your very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave, I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the house of commons has done your preface, by ordering it to be burnt.* This will add a never failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, than lie buried in obscurity; and would at any rate purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire, being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.

I shall detain your lordship no longer; but, according to your example, conclude with a short prayer (though praying, I confess, is not my talent)—May you never want opportunities of thus signalizing yourself; but be "transmitted to posterity," under the character of one who dares sacrifice every thing that is most dear to you

* This was performed May 12, 1712. See an admirable letter on that occasion to Bishop Burnet, June 17, 1712, in the preface to Bishop Fleetwood's works.—The vote was carried in the house by a majority of 119, against 54; among the dissenting voices, were Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lechmere, and others of the long robe. "The complaint" (says the bishop) "was made by Hungerford, and seconded by Manley (people that indeed should have been ordered to have burnt it), and thirded by what we call the Court; and carried by numbers, without a wise word said against it." N.

(even your own darling labours) to promote the interest of our party; and stand sainted in the whig calendar, as a martyr for the cause! This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) of your lordship's admirers,

WHARTON.

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE.*

"*Ecce iterum Crispinus!*"

THE Bishop of St. Asaph's famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in Duck Lane, and Little Britain, who returned me several of the sermons which belonged to that preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great masterpiece of art in this admirable author, to write such a sermon, as, by help of a preface, would pass for a tory discourse in one reign, and by omitting that preface, would denominate him a whig in another: thus, by changing the position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess, it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without which, if the author had so pleased, they might have passed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have risen

* Originally printed in the second volume of the Examiner. N.

up in judgment to confound the latter. But, upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully forgotten preface may not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed that the Spectator published the last with that intent: why therefore should not my publishing the first be for the same end? and I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service; for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to set it at length, to prevent what might be objected against me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious Spectator; though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from our party, as that author is said to have from another, upon the like occasion; or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politic designs, I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone; so to silence a clamorous party, who, from the late preface, are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent preface, the worthy author thought fit to charge the fanatics and whigs, upon the Duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our sins, by turning the kingdom into a commonwealth." The satire must certainly be determined to them; for neither the tories nor nonjurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, in as-

serting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says, is "as ill fitted for our nature as popery is for our religion," was, by some people, it seems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms "an impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that impudent and clamorous faction would really do all those things he charges them with, is by the whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a question: but that by this he did, and could then only mean the whigs, could be no question at all, since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by high-flying tories or jacobites. It seems, his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would "certainly do," and begs of God "evermore to preserve us from this species." And surely he was in the right; for that would be, indeed, "giving us we know not what"—his lordship's enemies "will tell the rest with pleasure!"

A

COMPLETE REFUTATION

OF

THE FALSEHOODS

ALLEGED AGAINST

ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq.

"Beware of Counterfeits, for such are abroad."
Dr. Saffold's Quack-bill.

"Quin quæ dixisti modo,
Omnia ementitus, equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum."
Plaut.

"Parva motu primo, mox sese attollit in auras."
Virg.

First printed in 1712-13.

"My friend Lewis has had a lie spread on him, by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort (lords now with the pretender) for his great services, &c. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give an account of it." Journal to Stella, Jan. 27, 1712-13.

"I was in the city with my printer, to alter an Examiner, about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks."

Ibid. Jan. 31.

"I could do nothing till to-day about the Examiner; but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said: and then Mr. Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it: so that I was neither at church nor court." Ibid. Feb. 1.

This account by Dr. Swift was published Feb. 2, 1712-13; and was confirmed in the Gazette of the following day by three advertisements, containing the respective affidavits of Erasmus Lewis, Esq. Charles Ford, Esq. and Brigadier Skelton. The two first of these gentlemen deposed, "That, having called at Mr. Henry Lewis's house, he told them, He was much surprised at the reports which had been raised on this occasion; and that he would go to all the chocolate-houses and coffee-houses in town, to do justice to Mr. Erasmus Lewis." And the testimony of Mr. Skelton himself seems sufficiently to have cleared up the whole. Yet there remained some who were obstinately incredulous; as appears by the Flying Post of Feb. 3.

The Dean's great regard for Mr. Lewis appears from the following memorandum, written by him on the back of one of that gentleman's letters: "Lewis, who is wiser than ever he was; the best of husbands; I am sure I can say, from my own experience, that he is the best of friends; he was so to me, when I had little hopes I should ever live to thank him." Mr. Lewis was also distinguished by the friendship of Mr. Pope, who left him a legacy for a ring. N.

A

COMPLETE REFUTATION, &c.

Feb. 2, 1712-13.

I INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person; but herein I hope, at the same time, to do some good to the public. A monstrous story has been for a while most industriously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust under the principal secretary of state; who has conducted himself with so much prudence, that before this incident, neither the most virulent pens nor tongues have been so bold as to attack him. The reader easily understands, that the person here meant is Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth; concerning whom a story has run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt with very ample additions transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazetteer, with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: wherefore, having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader; who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

On Sunday last was month, Mr. Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton, met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among seven other persons, viz. the Earls of Sussex and Finla-

ter, the Lady Barbara Skelton, Lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and Miss Scarborough her daughter; who all declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other; and told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr. Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the despatch of a license under the privy seal, by which Mr. Skelton was permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton saluted Mr. Lewis, and told him, "he would wait on him at his house, to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the Earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Marlborough street, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and, as soon as the supposed Mr. Lewis* appeared, Mr. Skelton expressed himself in these words: "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mistaken: I came to visit Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the service he did me in passing my privy seal." Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "Sir, there is no harm done." Upon which, Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my Lord Sussex, who staid for him in the coach; and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's without more particular directions: and this was the occasion of the mistake.

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but, on Saturday the 24th of January last, a report began to spread, that Mr. Skelton going by mistake to Mr. Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him, that he had services for him from the Earls of Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and

Mr. Henry Lewis, a Hamburg merchant. N.

about twelve persons more, of the Court of St. Germain." When Mr. Lewis heard of this, he wrote to the abovementioned Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend Skelton could best inform him." Mr. Lewis wrote a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly he and Charles Ford, Esq. went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared, "He had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffee-houses in town, to do Mr. Lewis justice." He was asked by Mr. Lewis, "Whether Mr. Skelton had named from what places and persons he had brought those services?" Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "He was positive Mr. Skelton had neither named person nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in; and Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then desired, he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, excused it, as unnecessary, "because he had already said he would do him justice in all the coffee-houses in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, replied, "That he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly Mr. Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and in the mean time the said Levi went to White's Chocolate-house; where, notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the abovementioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as, "That when Mr. Skelton and the Earl of Sussex came to his house, they staid with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The Earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr. Skelton, thought himself obliged to inquire into the truth of this matter: and after some search, found Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, at the Thatched-house tavern; where he denied every thing again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the queen, her majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this inquiry: and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, was called in, he declared, "That Mr. Skelton told him he had services for him from France, but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, Esq. who was summoned, affirmed, "That he had told him, Mr. Skelton named the Earls of Perth and Melfort." Here Levi, *alias* Lewis, appeared in confusion; for he had intreated Mr. Pulteney, not to say he had named any names, "for he would not stand to it;" but Mr. Pulteney answered, "You may give yourself the lie; I will not." The Earl of Sussex declared, "he did not go out of his coach, and that his son-in-law, Mr. Skelton, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared, "That he knew Mr. Lewis by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned; and that he had not brought Mr. Lewis any service from any person whatsoever." The Earl of Finlater and other persons summoned declared, "That Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton should mistake him: so that the whole matter

appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed; since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politics, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of humankind. But, as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles or mistaken politics, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, Esq. who, being desired by this same Mr. Levi to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr. Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he has nothing but his own conduct to direct him; and consequently is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that, in the Daily Courant of Saturday last, he has published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. Skelton; wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This narrative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. Levi ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit every body but himself from any share in this miserable pro-

ceeding; and can foretel him, that as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of the story will not convince one rational person of his veracity; so neither will any body interpret it otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature, left to itself; who endeavours to get out of one difficulty, by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that narrative of his; the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath; which whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. Levi says, in the aforesaid narrative in the Daily Courant, "That Mr. Skelton mistaking him for Mr. Lewis, told him he had several services to him from France, and named the names of several persons, which he [Levi] will not be positive to." Is it possible that, among several names, he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the Earls of Perth, Middleton, and Melfort, so often at White's and the coffee-houses? Again, he declared, "that my Lord Sussex came in with Mr. Skelton; that both drank tea with him;" and therefore whatever words passed, my Lord Sussex must be a witness to. But his lordship declares before the council, "that he never stirred out of the coach: and that Mr. Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with Levi, was not absent half a minute." Therefore, now, in his printed narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my Lord Sussex coming in along with Mr. Skelton; so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third person for a witness, and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr.

Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens likewise, that the real and counterfeit Lewis have no more resemblance to each other in their persons, than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation or their principles. Besides, in this narrative, Mr. Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himself; to whom he twice or thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr. Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's narrative, which may deceive the reader. He says, "Mr. Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. Skelton never went farther than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall therefore conclude with one remark: By the true account given in this paper, it appears that Mr. Skelton finding his mistake before he spoke a word, begged Mr. Levi's pardon, and by way of apology, told him, "his visit was intended to Mr. Lewis of my Lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons; and then it was easy to find names. Thus what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because Mr. Lewis being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides.

A

MODEST INQUIRY

INTO THE

REASONS OF THE JOY

EXPRESSED BY

A CERTAIN SET OF PEOPLE,

UPON THE

SPREADING OF A REPORT

OF

HER MAJESTY'S DEATH.

First Published, Feb. 4, 1713-14.

This tract was written by Mrs. Manley, with t
sistance of Dr. Swift.*

* On the 24th of December, 1713, the queen was taken w
ague, of which her majesty had two fits. It was immediately r
"that a dangerous illness had seized the queen at Windsor; a
during the consternation under it, the lord treasurer, who had
correspondence with Lambeth for above two years, wrote a l
the archbishop, giving an account of the dubious state of her
ty's health, and promising farther information as occasion sh
quire; and that his grace returned an answer in writing, ex
his affection and duty to the queen, and his prayers for her
perfect recovery, and his hopes that she might be soon able t
to London, for the better satisfaction of the minds of the p
See "The Wisdom of looking backward, 1715," p. 326. T
aminer, on the 8th of January following, took up the matter
cular manner, by way of laughing at the whigs; and heavily i
that party, as appears by Abel Boyer's account of it in the P
State. N.

MODEST INQUIRY, &c.

THAT this inquiry is made by a private person, and not by her majesty's attorney general; and that such notorious offenders have met only with an expostulation, instead of an indictment; will at once be an everlasting proof of the lenity of the government, and of the unprovoked and groundless barbarity of such a proceeding. Amid the pious intercessions of her majesty's dutiful subjects at the throne of grace, for her health and recovery; that others of them should receive the news of her death with joy, and spread it with industry, will hardly appear probable to any, except to those who have been witnesses of such vile practices, not only in her majesty's capital city, but in several other places of the kingdom; not only near Charing-cross, but at some other market crosses: that their passion on such an occasion should prove too unruly even for the caution demanded in the belief of news still uncertain, for the severity of the laws, and for the common decency that is due to the fall even of the greatest enemy: that not only those who were sharers of the common blessings of her mild government, but such as had been warmed by its kinder influences; not only those who owed their honour, their riches, and other superfluities, but even the necessaries of life to her bounty, such as ate her bread, wore her raiment, and were protected under the shelter of her roof; should not be able for a moment to stifle their eager and impatient

ingratitude: that this behaviour should not only appear in those vile and detestable places which are dedicated to faction and disorder; but that it should infect her majesty's palaces and chapels (where the accustomed devotion for her health and prosperity was derided:) these, I say, are facts that might demand a full proof, could I not appeal to their own consciences, and the incontestable evidence of credible persons.

I will, for once, suppose some foreigner, unacquainted with our temper and affairs, to be disturbed in his walks by some of the revels at Charing-cross upon this occasion, or by chance to stumble into a neighbouring coffee-house: would not his curiosity prompt him to address himself to the company, after the following manner?

"Gentlemen, though I am no Englishman, I rejoice as much at the fall of a tyrant as any of you. Surely this Queen Anne exceeded both Nero and Caligula in acts of cruelty. May I beg you to relate to me some particulars? As for you, gentlemen, who express such unusual joy, no doubt but there are at this time multitudes of your relations and friends in prison; who were to be executed the next day, if this lucky accident had not prevented it."

Give me leave to imagine some poor disconsolate honest gentleman, at the same time, accidentally among them, thus answering this foreigner: "Alas! sir, this good queen, whom they now report to be dead, during a reign of twelve years, never shed one drop of blood for any misdemeanors against herself."

For. Well, sir, allowing what you have said to be true; may not the late administration have been rendered merciful by the indulgence of those entrusted with the execution of the laws; and yet, the queen, of whom we are speaking, have been in her own nature a wicked and cruel person?

Gent. Alas! sir, quite the contrary; this excellent queen was the greatest pattern of all princely and christian virtues that ever adorned a throne; just, patient, firm, devout, charitable, affable, compassionate, the sincerest friend, the kindest mistress, the best wife!

For. Perhaps she was of a different religion; inclined to popery, which has been for many years held in the utmost detestation in this country.

Gent. Sir, this pious princess, as she was early educated in the religion of her country; so, amid a court corrupted both in principles and manners, she gave constant proofs of her unshaken perseverance in it; and, by her unblemished life, proved as great an ornament to the church of which she was a member, as she was a steady professor of its doctrine, and constant frequenter of its devotions. To the protestant religion she sacrificed her most tender interests. Where is that boasted patriot, who acted a more generous part for the good of his country in the most perilous times? And, since Providence set the crown upon her head, in what single instance has she departed from those maxims?

For. I confess, then, I am at a loss to find out the cause of so great an exultation for the death of so excellent a princess: but it has sometimes happened, by the connivance of good monarchs, that their people have been oppressed; and that perhaps might be your case in the late reign.

Gent. So much otherwise, that no annals can produce a reign freer from oppression. Our gracious queen "never accepted the persons of the wicked, nor overthrew the righteous in judgment. Whose ox or whose ass did she take? She was always ready to relieve, but never to oppress, the poor, the fatherless, and the afflicted. Her heart was not lifted up above her brethren; nor did she turn aside from the commandment, to the

right or to the left." Her compassionate mind pitied even those countries which suffered by the power of her victorious arms. Where are the least effects of the pride and cruelty of Queen Anne to be discovered? So impossible is it to brand her government with any instance of severity, that perhaps it may be more justly censured for excess of clemency; a clemency, the continuance whereof had once brought her into the utmost distress, till that tender regard, which she had always shown for the liberties of her subjects, taught them in return to struggle as hard for the liberty of their sovereign; even for that common right of all mankind, the liberty of choosing her own servants.

For. Give me leave to make another supposition. Princes sometimes turn liberality into profusion, squander their treasure, and impoverish their people. May nothing of this kind be laid to the charge of the deceased queen?

Gent. You cannot but have heard, that, when she came to the crown, she found a dangerous war prepared for her, in which it pleased God to bless her with unexpected success. When the purposes seemed to be answered for which it was undertaken, she thought fit to stop the vital streams of the blood and treasure of her people, and to put a period to a war, that now served only to gratify the covetousness or ambition of those she was confederated with, as well as the vast designs of a faction at home; and, with peace, to endeavour to settle such a commerce as might in some measure reimburse her subjects of the vast treasure they had expended. Alas! here is her crime: touching those points she "is now called in question" by those gentlemen. As for her own expenses, I wish they had reached as far as the necessaries and conveniences of life, which, some can testify, she has often denied herself, that she might have to give

to those who were in want. If ever her liberality exceeded its just bounds, it was to a set of men who would now use the riches they enjoy by her bounty, to insult her. Devotion and business were all the pleasures of her life: when she had any relaxation from the latter, it was only by some painful attack of the gout. The cares of government, no doubt, had prejudiced her constitution: but monsters sure are they, that can rejoice for the loss of a life worn out in their own service. I hope you will have the goodness to believe there are but few of us who deserve this infamous character. The bulk of her subjects, and many good christians besides in other parts of the world, are, no doubt, daily offering up their ardent prayers and vows for the preservation of so precious a life.

For. From what you have said, I readily condemn the unseasonable joy of those gentlemen: but mankind are governed by their interest. You Englishmen seldom disguise your passions. A monarch may have a thousand good qualities; but particular men, who do not feel the benign influence of them, may be tempted, perhaps, to wish for a change.

Gent. Give me leave to whisper you: That man of quality, whom you see in such an ecstacy, enjoys by her majesty's bounty one of the most advantageous places of the kingdom.—That other gentleman's coach, that stands there at the door, was bought with her majesty's money.—The laced coat, the hat and feather, that officer wears, were purchased with her pay; and you see her arms on his gorget.—This noble person's relations have been brought from the lowest degree of gentlemen, and surfeited with riches and honours, by her majesty: so that she may truly complain, "She has nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against her."

For. Truly, sir, I am amazed at what you say; and yet there appears so much candour and confidence in your assertions, that I can hardly suspect the truth of them. I have travelled through many a desolate country, and heard the groans of many an afflicted people, who would have thought themselves blessed, if the united virtues of this lady had been parcelled out among all their governors. Those virtues of princes that most dazzle the eyes of mankind, are often dearly paid for by their people, who are forced to purchase them a place in the annals of fame at the dear price of their blood and treasure: and I believe they would seldom find fault with them for being peaceably inclined. I am a stranger; and, in such a disorderly night as this, may meet with some affront: so must bid you farewell; hoping you will find this melancholy news contradicted.

I may appeal to any impartial reader, whether there is any thing forced or unnatural in this dialogue; and then desire him to pass his judgment upon the proceedings of those who rejoiced at her death. But to return to my inquiry.

The circumstances of Queen Elizabeth much resemble those of her present majesty; with this difference, that Queen Elizabeth was forced upon many great and remarkable pieces of severity, from which it has pleased God to free her present majesty; I hope, as a particular blessing upon her reign, and indulgence to her merciful temper. Though there were many factions at that time both of the papists and puritans, to neither of which she gave much quarter, so that her very life was often conspired against by many sets of villains among the papists; though she had no posterity to revenge her quarrels, but, on the contrary, her ministry had most reason to be afraid of the vengeance of the successor; yet she carried the respect and duty of her subjects with her even to the

grave. By the wise and close management of her ministry, her being sick of the smallpox at Hampton Court was concealed from the people till she was almost well. Had they known it, it would have been the constant subject of their devotions, as every little disorder of her's was. Whether from the fear of punishment, a regard to decency, love to their country, or the sense of their duty and allegiance which were not extinguished in those days; none of those multitudes, which had suffered great hardships, durst mutter, or ever dreamed of showing the least malice or insolence to her, even in her old age, and the very last scene of her life: and yet she was a true friend to peace, it being her constant maxim, "That it was more glorious to prevent a war by wisdom, than to finish it by victories." When she had a mind to break off in the middle of a successful war, in which she was engaged against a more formidable power, and a more hopeful candidate for universal monarchy, than any that has since appeared; a war that was managed without the help of destructive funds, and large issues of English treasures to foreign states; a war that was carried on with the proper force of the nation, viz. their fleets, and rather served to bring in great quantities of bullion, than to carry it out: I say, when she had a mind to make peace, I do not hear that every little retailer of politics presumed to tell her that it was not yet time to lay down her arms; that Spain was not yet sufficiently reduced; that the balance of Europe was not perfectly settled. Indeed, her captain general for that war seemed to reason at the council board with too much warmth for the continuance of it; but I do not hear that her lord treasurer was disgraced for advertising him at that time, "that the blood-thirsty man should not live half his days:" a prophecy but too truly verified. When she resolved to bring down the haughty spirit of that great

man, I do not read that many people soothed him in his ambitious projects; except his flatterers, Blunt and Cuffe, to whom he spoke these remarkable words upon the scaffold, "Ask pardon of God and the queen; for you were the persons that chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty." And happy had it been for him, had he hearkened to the lord keeper, who advised him to submit to the queen his sovereign, and to remember that passage of Seneca: "If the law punish one who is guilty, he must submit to justice: if one who is innocent, he must submit to fortune."

I do not find one single address from either House of Parliament, advising Queen Elizabeth to vest her captain general in the Low Countries with more power. On the contrary, it is recorded to her lasting honour, that she wrote to him, "to allay his aspirings; that she admired how a man whom she had raised out of the dust should so contemptuously violate her commands;" desiring the States to devest him of that absolute authority, to which she had set such bounds as he should not pass.

When this prudent queen had demanded and obtained from the Dutch the town of Flushing, Castle of Ramekins, and the isle of Brill, to be surrendered to her as cautionary for repayment of the sums she might expend in their service; I do not find any Englishman at that time pleading the cause of the distressed provinces (which then indeed was allowed to be a proper style,) complaining of the narrowness of their frontier, and remonstrating against this as a hard bargain; nor do I remember that her successor was thanked by the nation for giving up those cautionary towns, which she thought as safe in her own hands as in those of the best of her allies.*

* This transaction is related very circumstantially in Howell's Letters, p. 32. N.

This excellent queen was sometimes, indeed, attacked with pamphlets: particularly by one, entitled "The Gulf wherein England will be swallowed by the French Marriage:" for which, Stubs* and Page (the one the author, the other the disperser) lost each their right hand. And, to show that men in those days had both a sense of their duty and their guilt; when Stubs had his right hand cut off, he immediately uncovered his head with the other, and cried, "God save the queen!" I never read that, during the time of the execution, they were protected by a mob of chimney sweepers hired by their partisans.

What cause shall we then assign of this tumultuous and excessive joy of the party: their industry to spread, and their eagerness to believe, what they so much wished? Were all the glories and blessings of Queen Anne's reign so soon to be forgotten? Were their protestations of loyalty and affection nothing else but petitions for preferment? or did they proceed only from the fear of Newgate and Tyburn? Might not all her cares and labours that (in her circumstances) could have no other end but the welfare of her people, have deserved one pitying tear? Could not even (allowing their own supposition) her mistaken zeal for restoring the peace and commerce of her subjects, her tenderness to their exhausted purses, and her care to transmit their liberties safe to posterity, plead for one relenting thought? Might not some regard have been paid to her personal virtues,

* John Stubs, of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of "A Discovery of a gaping Gulf for England by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by letting her Majesty Queen Elizabeth see the Sin, &c. thereof;" printed 1579, 8vo. See Cambden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1581. Wood says, that Thomas Cartwright, the Coryphæus of the puritans of his time, was supposed to have been concerned in writing this pamphlet. N.

and to the rare example she has left behind her, of the constant practice of all christian duties amid the grandeur and temptations of a court? No! All these things, it seems, were to be the subject of mirth, ridicule, and of the songs of drunkards; and the death of the noble, the pious, the fortunate Queen Anne, our countrywoman, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, was to be celebrated as a festival of joy!

And is the death then of this excellent princess become so absolutely necessary at this time for the welfare of her people? I should rather imagine, even allowing their fears and jealousies to be well founded, that some degrees of prudence, temper, and tenderness for their fellow-subjects, might induce them to reason after the following manner:

"That it is good to put an evil day far off; that none can be more terrible than that which brings confusion, disorder, and perhaps a civil war; that Providence may find a way to disappoint our fears. It is possible the spirit of faction may abate, and that even these formidable enemies of the succession may vanish, or return to a sense of their duty and danger: that France may fall under the government of a minor, and have business enough at home: nay, it is possible, the pretender himself may die before her present majesty: and, considering the changeable condition of British affairs, it is not improbable that the whigs may recover their credit both at court and in the country; and then to be sure all things must go well. Nay, who can tell but that the successors may think it their interest to be Kings of Britain, rather than kings of the whigs?" All or any one of those things are fully as probable as that the queen, lords, and commons, should agree to alter the present establishment; and much more so than that her present majesty should devest herself of her crown and dignity

in favour of a popish successor. Let her live then; and let us still hope, that Providence, which has honoured her to be the instrument of great blessings as well to Europe as her own people, may continue to do so still. How short and obscure are the views of mankind, when they look into futurity! We are at least as often obliged to Providence for denying, as for granting, what we most earnestly desire. Out of respect to my country, I would fain believe the number of such miscreants to be but few. What would all the rest of the world think of us else? Would not they look upon us as the most ungrateful, factious, fickle race of mortals under the sun? Histories are full of the dismal effects of the government of tyrannical princes, and of their fatal ends; and they are justly set up as beacons, to warn others of the same rank from the rocks and shelves whereon they have split. But are there no memoirs of the undutifulness of subjects, and the fatal consequences of their factious and ungovernable tempers? I am afraid, the general current of history will inform us, that tyrannical princes have been more punctually obeyed than the good and the merciful. Princes read history, as well as subjects. They are quick-sighted enough to make inferences to justify, what they are but too much inclined to, the undue exercise of their power. "Is it not plain," say they, "that monarchs too often suffer by their indulgence? that the rigorous exercise of power is the only foundation of obedience? To what purpose then is it to court the fallacious breath of the changeable multitude?" I am afraid too many of them reason after this manner; and that the tyranny of bad princes is often founded upon the misbehaviour of subjects to good ones. Let such, therefore, consider what misery their factious and disobedient temper may bring upon their posterity, not only from the direct influence and tenden-

cy of it, but also by the appointment of divine Providence.

For shame, then, let us not verify the description which the ambassador made of us; who, being desired by his master to give a character of the English nation, as a full answer to his demand, presented him with a medal; on the one side of which the English monarch was pictured as a lion, and all his people about him like lambs; and, on the reverse, the monarch like a lamb, and all the people like lions.*

Let us proceed now to guess at the source of this unseasonable exultation. I begin with the common cant of the whole party, the fear of a popish successor and popery. The loss of the Duke of Gloucester, and the want of hopes of posterity from her present majesty, are misfortunes never enough to be lamented: but is it not a very ungenerous way of proceeding, instead of comforting and supporting their prince under this calamity, to insult and despise her for it? to multiply their affronts and indignities, because she wants posterity, who might possibly revenge them? May such ignoble and base sentiments be far from the thoughts of every true hearted Briton! and may He, who has commanded us "not to add affliction to the afflicted," never avenge such inhuman and unjust dealings! But still I am to seek how the fear of a popish successor should operate in joy for the death of a protestant possessor! This appears no less unaccountable than other parts of their system of politics; a short view of which seems to be this:

That the protestant succession is in the utmost danger.

That, in order to strengthen it, a bad understanding must be kept up between the successor and her present

* We do not recollect to what ambassador this story is applicable. N.

majesty, the ministry, and all who are vested with power and authority in the nation.

For this end, the successor must be persuaded that those are his mortal enemies; and the ministry, on the other hand, must be told, that he is coming to hang them all up.

That they hope the ministry are firm friends to the pretender; that they ought to be so, having no other game to play; and that they should be sorry to find them otherwise inclined.

That, at this moment, the queen is expiring; and the guards gone down as far as Dover to meet the pretender. Now rejoice, all true-hearted whigs, at the happy prospect of the glorious scene that discloses itself for Great Britain!

From these premises, I think, it will be very hard for the most sagacious man alive to infer, which of three things is most in favour with these gentlemen who are so transported; viz. whether the protestant successor, the pretender, or confusion? I think, so far is plain, that either their suspicion of the danger of the protestant succession is counterfeit, or that they are for one of the other. And indeed what can one gather from their mad and extravagant discourse, but that it is all grimace? "Popery is breaking in like a torrent. Mass will be quickly said in churches. Clergymen's wives are taking their last leave of their husbands," &c. Good God! that ever I should live to see the protestant cause abandoned by a queen (who has sacrificed for the sake of it what was perhaps dearer than her life) by the nobility, clergy, and gentry, of the nation; and the sole defence of it left to Ridpath, Dick Steele, and their associates, with the apostles of Young Man's coffee-house! Before I leave this head, I would desire these gentlemen, who are constantly making such malicious insinuations

against men of honour and probity, to remember, the oath of abjuration (what they so often quote, and what every honest man will keep) contains faith and true allegiance to their present sovereign, in as strong terms as the renunciation of the pretender; and that he, who violates the first part of the oath, gives but a small security for his observation of the latter, unless they think that which was last swallowed must be always uppermost.

Another cause of their joy upon the spreading of this false news is, their discontent at the peace. And in this indeed the queen has reason to rejoice, that has no enemies but such as are enemies to peace. But is not the hopes of a new war an admirable subject for joy, a most endearing token of their love to the successor, and one of their new methods of keeping up his interest, to represent him to the people as bringing over war in his train! It is foreign to my present purpose to enter into a full discussion of this subject: but the quarrelling with the peace, because it is not exactly to our mind, seems as if one that had put out a great fire should be sued by the neighbourhood for some lost goods, or damaged houses; which happened, say they, by his making too much haste. Let me advise them in general, not to disrelish blessings because they may want some ingredients, which their extravagant and sickly appetites seem to demand; to leave some part of the government of the world to its Maker, and not to believe that he is confined to the narrow maxims of every whimsical politician; not to think it impossible, that the same powers that have restored the balance of Europe, in opposition to so great a force, are able to preserve it; and that we have no reason to be in such mighty dread of a nation now impoverished and dispirited (and probably in the eve of a long minority, with all the confusion that attends it) whom we have humbled in all its pomp and glory.

May I presume to descend from those high topics, and to suppose that the sublime and public spirit of these patriots may have a little alloy of a baser passion; and that self-interest had some share in this extraordinary festival? Far be it from me to deny them the due use of so humane a passion! Let the hopes of seeing better days produce a secret satisfaction: but may they not be so affected, without being brutal and barbarous? They might have enjoyed the pleasant prospect of the approaching favours of the new monarch, without insulting the ashes of the dead. May that reign be glorious and happy! But I shall always believe, that insulting the memory of her present majesty will be understood as an ill compliment to her successor. The fatal event of her death, it is true, put an end to their allegiance: but not to the obligations to decency and gratitude. I have heard that allegiance and protection are reciprocal; but never that allegiance and preferment were so. If this principle be admitted, we need go no farther for the list of her majesty's good subjects, than Chamberlayne's "Present State of Britain." But even in this particular the rejoicing party have of all mankind the least reason to complain, whose present insolence and pride are the creatures of her majesty's bounty and indulgence; who have no other grievance, that I know of, than, when they have "taken our cloak, that we will not give them our coat also." And even under this ministry, the opposite party, who are loud in their complaints and reviling against it, may appear, upon a right computation, to have their quota of all the offices of the kingdom. Let them for once show their modesty, and not grudge the nation the little that is left; and since they have so great a share in possession, and think themselves sure of all in reversion, suffer the poor tories to hold their part during the period of the queen's life.

There remains still another cause, which I am afraid operates as strongly as any of those already mentioned: it is a common observation, that the offended party often forgives; but the offending party seldom. It is one of the corrupt sentiments of the heart of man, to hate one the more for having used them ill: and to wish those out of the way, who, we believe, ought in justice to revenge the injuries we have done them. I leave the application to themselves.

Thus, I think, I have briefly enumerated the causes of their joy; viz.

A prospect of a new foreign war.

A fair chance for a civil war.

The expectation of the monopoly of the government.

The hopes of having the tories all hanged: and,

Their consciousness that they ought to be so themselves.

At the same time, far be it from me to charge all who are called by the name of whigs with such villanous inclinations and designs; among whom, I know there are many worthy and excellent persons. I would not willingly be guilty of a breach of charity, which I could wish all parties were possessed of in a greater measure. I would have every body, who is conscious of his guilt in any of the forementioned particulars, to reflect seriously upon what I have hinted at; both those who "cursed the queen in their heart," and those who "cursed her" in the open streets; but, of all others, their guilt is of the deepest die, who have personal obligations to her majesty. For my part, it was with the utmost detestation that I observed some, who owed much to his late majesty King William, treat his memory with scorn and indifference. Gratitude, as much despised and disused as it is, will ever continue to be a reputable virtue, as long as mankind live in society; nay, even if they should *return to the* woods.

The melancholy occasion of her majesty's sickness had this in common with other ill accidents; that some advantage could be made of it, in discovering the impotent malice and factious purposes of some, who would otherwise have been more cautious in disguising their inclinations, till they believed they might discover them with safety, and thereby make a merit with the more abandoned part of their faction.* God be thanked, her majesty wants not those faithful subjects, who will defend both her person and reputation against the felonious attempts of such impious wretches, and who would serve her in the last moments of her life with as much fidelity and zeal, as if she had twenty sons and daughters to inherit after her. Her times are in the hands of that Almighty Being whose minister she is, and in whom she comfortably puts her trust; who will not shorten the period of her life one moment, for all the impatient curiosity of those people who are daily inquiring, "When will she die?" So long as they keep off their hands, let them wish as much as they think fit: and, when it shall please God to give her the happy change of an earthly for a heavenly crown, let this be written upon her tomb: "That, in compassion to the miseries of Europe, and the sufferings of her own subjects, after a bloody and expensive war, which had lasted twenty years, she concluded a peace: and, that she might transmit the liberties of her people safe to posterity, she disbanded her army: by which glorious achievement, she acquired the hatred of a faction, who were fond of war, that they might plunder their fellow subjects at pleasure; and of an army, that they might do this with impunity."

* It is a very remarkable circumstance that the public funds rose considerably on the report of the queen's death, and immediately sunk again on her recovery. Stocks rose in like manner when her majesty's decease actually happened. See Mr. Ford's Letter of August 5, 1714. N.

THE

IMPORTANCE

OF

THE GUARDIAN

CONSIDERED, IN

A SECOND LETTER

TO THE

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

BY A FRIEND OF MR. STEELE.

First printed in 1713-14.

The original edition of this tract was become so exceedingly scarce, that the present Editor in vain advertised for a copy of it in most of the public papers for many months, and obtained it at last by an unexpected accident. Though we have no positive evidence to ascribe it to Swift, yet there are circumstances equal to decisive testimony. It is enumerated in the Examiner, among other pieces which were certainly written by him, and which are separated from those of other writers in a manner which appears intended to prevent their being confounded with the works of inferior authors. But here we must lament the interruption of the Journal to Stella, which, in several instances, has so decisively ascertained those pieces which we at first only conjectured to be Swift's from their being classed in the above described manner. Not one tract, however, has been thus admitted, that bears not the internal marks of its author; the few which appeared suspicious being still consigned to obscurity. Our author went to Ireland in June 1713, to take possession of his deanery; but returned to London in September: and it is certain that the following winter produced some of the most excellent pieces, both in prose and verse, which are to be found in his whole works. Since the preceding note was written, the volume of the Dean's Tracts, noticed in Vol. IV. under "Remarks on a Letter to the Seven Lords, &c." confirms the conjecture of this letter being the genuine production of the Dean. N.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MR. Steele, in his "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge," has given us leave "to treat him as we think fit, as he is our brother scribbler; but not to attack him as an honest man," p. 40. That is to say, he allows us to be his critics, but not his answerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticised, and little to be answered. The situation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Mons. Tugghe's memorial, published and handed about by the whigs, is allowed to be a very trifling paper: and as to the immediate demolishment of that town, Mr. Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative speech, naming the tenth part for the whole; as Bradshaw told King Charles I. that the people of England expected justice against him. I have therefore entered very little into the subject he pretends to treat; but have considered his pamphlet partly as a critic, and partly as a commentator; which, I think, is "to treat him only as my brother scribbler," according to the permission he has graciously allowed me.

To the worshipful Mr. JOHN SNOW, Bailiff of Stockbridge.

SIR,

I HAVE just been reading a twelvepenny pamphle about Dunkirk, addressed to your worship from one o your intended representatives; and I find several pa sages in it which want explanation, especially to you i the country: for we in town have a way of talking an writing, which is very little understood beyond the bill of mortality. I have therefore made bold to send yo here a second letter, by way of comment upon the former

In order to this, "You, Mr. Bailiff, and at the sam time the whole borough," may please to take notice, tha London writers often put titles to their papers and pam phlets, which have little or no reference to the main de sign of the work: so, for instance, you will observe i reading, that the letter, called "The Importance of Dun kirk," is wholly taken up in showing you the importanc of Mr. Steele; wherein it was indeed reasonable you borough should be informed, which had chosen him t represent them.

I would therefore place the importance of this gentle man before you, in a clearer light than he has given him self the trouble to do; without running into his early history, because I owe him no malice.

Mr. Steele is author of two tolerable plays, or at leas of the greatest part of them; which, added to the compa ny he kept, and to the continual conversation and friend ship of Mr. Addison, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to sup pose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from

hence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life, that might least improve, or preserve, the rudiments he had got. He has no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse; for, after the first bottle, he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct, than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends; but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he has committed more absurdities, in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politics, religion, and writing, than ever fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr. Harley (then secretary of state) at the recommendation of Mr. Maynwaring, with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper, of equal profit; and had a pension of a hundred pounds *per annum*, as a servant to the late Prince George.

This gentleman, whom I have now described to you, began between four and five years ago to publish a paper thrice a week, called The Tattler. It came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and, by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverell's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual Mr. Harley, who had made him ga-

zetteer. But, his finger and thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general torrent, there was a universal change made in the ministry; and the two new secretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office, who had acted so infamous a part, Mr. Steele, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of gazetteer. Upon which occasion, I cannot forbear relating a passage "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and the ·es. of the borough," which discovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this gentleman you have chosen to represent you. When Mr. Maynwaring recommended him to the employment of gazetteer, Mr. Harley, out :: an inclination to encourage men of parts, raised that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a year. Mr. Steele, according to form, came to give his new patron thanks; but the secretary, who would rather confer a hundred favours, than receive acknowledgments for one, said to him, in a most obliging manner, "Pray, sir, do not thank me; but thank Mr. Maynwaring." Soon after Mr. Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office, of the hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his place: that he knew Mr. Harley was the cause; that he never had done Mr. Harley any injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman, amazed at this discourse, put him in mind of those libels published in his Tattlers. Mr. Steele said, he was only the publisher, for they had been sent him by other hands. The gentleman thinking this a very monstrous kind of excuse, and not allowing it, Mr. Steele then said, "Well, I have libelled him, and he has turned me out; and so we are equal."—But neither would this be granted: and he was asked whether the place of gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," said he, "not from Mr. Harley; for, when I went to thank him, he forbad me, and said, I must only thank Mr. Maynwaring."

But I return, Mr. Bailiff, to give you a farther account of this gentleman's importance. In less, I think, than two years, the town and he grew weary of the Tattler: he was silent for some months; and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of Spectator, with good success: this being likewise dropped after a certain period, he has of late appeared under the style of Guardian, which he has now likewise quitted for that of Englishman; but, having chosen other assistance, or trusting more to himself, his papers have been very coldly received, which has made him fly for relief to the never failing source of faction.

In the beginning of August last, Mr. Steele writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq. and subscribes it with the name of "English Tory." On the 7th, the said Ironside publishes this letter in the Guardian. How shall I explain this matter to you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You must know then, that Mr. Steele and Mr. Ironside are the same persons, because there is a great relation between Iron and Steel; and English Tory and Mr. Steele are the same persons, because there is no relation at all between Mr. Steele and an English Tory; so that, to render this matter clear to the very meanest capacities, Mr. English Tory, the very same person with Mr. Steele, writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, Esq. who is the same person with English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele: and Mr. Ironside, who is the same person with English Tory, publishes the letter written by English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele, who is the same person with Mr. Ironside. This letter, written and published by these three gentlemen, who are one of your representatives, complains of a printed paper in French and English, lately handed about the town, and given gratis to passengers in the streets at noon day; the title where-

of is, "A most humble Address, or Memorial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk." This deputy, it seems, is called the Sieur Tugghe. Now, the remarks made upon this memorial by Mr. English Tory, in his letter to Mr. Ironside, happening to provoke the Examiner and another pamphleteer, they both fell hard upon Mr. Steele, charging him with insolence and ingratitude toward the queen. But Mr. Steele, nothing daunted, writes a long letter "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time to the whole borough," in his own vindication. But, there being several difficult passages in this letter, which may want clearing up, I here send you and the borough my annotation upon it.

Mr. Steele, in order to display his importance to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know "he is no small man," p. 1; because, in the pamphlets he has sent you down, you will "find him spoken of more than once in print." It is indeed a great thing to be "spoken of in print," and must needs make a mighty sound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr. Steele has really sent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed since the dissolution, you will find he is not the only person of importance; I could instance Abel Roper, Mr. Marten the surgeon, Mr. John Moore the apothecary at the pestle and mortar, Sir William Read her majesty's oculist, and, of later name and fame, Mr. John Smith the corncutter, with several others who are "spoken of more than once in print." Then he recommends to your perusal, and sends you a copy of, a printed paper given *gratis* about the streets, which is the memorial of Monsieur Tugghe, above-mentioned, "Deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk," to desire her majesty not to demolish the said town. He tells you how insolent a thing it is, that such a paper should be publicly distributed, and he tells you

true; but these insolences are very frequent among the whigs. One of their present topics for clamour is Dunkirk: here is a memorial said to be presented to the queen by an obscure Frenchman; one of your party gets a copy, and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it gratis to the people: which answers several ends. First, It is meant to lay an odium on the ministry. Secondly, If the town be soon demolished, Mr. Steele and his faction have the merit; their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord treasurer. Thirdly, If the demolishing should be farther deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordship's intention to bring over the pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itself, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr. Steele's letter, under the name of English Tory, to Mr. Ironside. In the preface to this letter, p. 15, he has these words; "It is certain there is not much danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk during the life of his present most christian majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable regard to treaties; but that pious prince is aged, and in case of his decease," &c. This preface is in the words of Mr. Ironside, a professed whig; and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party, celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this, I can assure you, is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary. There is a wonderful resemblance between that prince and the party of whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government? So are they. Has he persecuted protestants? So have the whigs. Did he attempt to restore King James and his pretended son? They did the same. Would he have Dunkirk surrendered to him?

This is what they desire. Does he call himself the Most Christian? The whigs assume the same title, though their leaders deny christianity. Does he break his promises? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th page, Mr. Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to Mr. Ironside, the remarks of the Examiner and another author upon that letter: the hydrography of some French and English ports, and his answer to Mr. Tugghe's memorial. The bent of his discourse is, in appearance, to show of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England the surrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr. Bailiff, you must be careful; for all this is said in raillery; for you may easily remember, that when the town was first yielded to the queen, the whigs declare it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr. Steele tells you, of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by destroying this port, is only suited to present junctures and circumstances. For, if Dunkirk should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into her majesty's hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or not, and consequently one principal topic of clamour would fall to the ground.

In Mr. Steele's answer to Monsieur Tugghe's arguments against the demolishing of Dunkirk, I have not observed any thing that so much deserves your peculiar notice, as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his style, which he calls "proceeding like a man of great gravity and business," p. 31. He has ten arguments of Tugghe's to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten road,

like a parson of a parish, first, secondly, thirdly, &c. his manner is this:

In answer to the sieur's first.
As to the sieur's second.
As to his third.
As to the sieur's fourth.
As to Mr. deputy's fifth.
As to the sieur's sixth.
As to this agent's seventh.
As to the sieur's eight.
As to his ninth.
As to the memorialist's tenth.

You see every second expression is more or less diversified, to avoid the repetition of, "As to the sieur's" &c. and there is the tenth into the bargain. I could heartily wish Monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of showing the utmost variations our language would bear, in so momentous a trial.

Mr. Steele tells you, "That having now done with his foreign enemy, Monsieur Tugghe, he must face about to his domestic foes, who accuse him of ingratitude, and insulting his prince, while he is eating her bread."

To do him justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last charge: for he assures you, he gave up his stamped paper office, and pension as gentleman usher before he wrote that letter to himself in the Guardian; so that he had already received his salary, and spent his money, and consequently the bread was eaten at least a week before he would offer to insult his prince: so that the folly of the Examiner's objecting ingratitude to him upon this article, is manifest to all the world.

But, he tells you, he has quitted those employments, to render him more useful to his queen and country, in the station you have honoured him with. That, no

doubt, was the principal motive; however, I shall venture to add some others. First, the Guardian apprehended it impossible, that the ministry would let him keep his place much longer, after the part he had acted for above two years past. Secondly, Mr. Ironside said publicly, that he was ashamed to be obliged any longer to a person (meaning the lord treasurer) whom he had used so ill: for, it seems, a man ought not to use his benefactors ill above two years and a half. Thirdly, The Sieur Steele appeals for protection to you, Mr. Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him somewhere else, if you had not relieved him, by your *habeas corpus* to St. Stephen's chapel. Fourthly, Mr. English Tory found, by calculating the life of a ministry, that it has lasted above three years, and is near expiring; he resolved, therefore, to "strip off the very garments spotted with the flesh," and be wholly regenerate against the return of his old masters.

In order to serve all these ends, your borough has honoured him (as he expresses it) with choosing him to represent you in parliament; and it must be owned, he has equally honoured you. Never was borough more happy in suitable representatives, than you are in Mr. Steele and his colleague;* nor were ever representatives more happy in a suitable borough.

When Mr. Steele talked of "laying before her majesty's ministry, that the nation has a strict eye upon their behaviour with relation to Dunkirk," p. 39; did not you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough, presently imagine he had drawn upa sort of counter-memorial to that of Monsieur Tugghe, and presented it in form to my lord treasurer, or a secretary of state? I am confident you did; but this comes by not under-

* Thomas Broderick, Esq. N.

standing the town. You are to know then, that Mr. Steele publishes every day a penny paper to be read in coffee-houses, and get him a little money. This, by a figure of speech, he calls, "laying things before the ministry," who seem at present a little too busy to regard such memorials; and, I dare say, never saw his paper, unless he sent it by the penny post.

Well, but he tells you, "he cannot offer against the Examiner and his other adversary, reason and argument, without appearing void of both," ibid. What a singular situation of the mind is this! How glad should I be to hear a man "offer reasons and argument, and yet at the same time appear void of both!" But this whole paragraph is of a peculiar strain; the consequences so just and natural, and such a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrive at. "Since it has been the fashion to run down men of much greater consequence than I am, I will not bear the accusation," ibid. This, I suppose, is, "to offer reasons and arguments, and yet appear void of both." And in the next lines; "These writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their brother-scribbler; but I shall not be so unconcerned when they attack me as an honest man," p. 40. And how does he defend himself? "I shall therefore inform them, that it is not in the power of a private man, to hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I shall treat him only as a brother-scribbler; and I guess he will hardly be attacked as an honest man: but, if his meaning be, that his honesty ought not to be attacked, because he "has no power to hurt the honour and prerogative of the crown without being punished;" he will make an admirable reasoner in the house of commons.

But all this wise argumentation was introduced only to close the paragraph, by hauling in a fact which he relates to you and your borough, in order to quiet the

minds of the people, and express his duty and gratitude to the queen. The fact is this; "that her majesty's honour is in danger of being lost, by her ministers tolerating villains without conscience to abuse the greatest instruments of honour and glory to our country, the most wise and faithful managers, and the most pious, disinterested, generous, and self-denying patriots;" and the instances he produces are, the Duke of Marlborough, the late Earl of Godolphin, and about two thirds of the bishops.

Mr. Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length, without putting you, and the rest of my countrymen, who will be at the expense, to sixpence charge extraordinary. The duke and earl were both removed from their employments; and I hope you have too great a respect for the queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was at the head of many great actions; and he has received plentiful oblations of praise and profit: yet, having read all that ever was objected against him by the Examiner, I will undertake to prove every syllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt to be general for life. The Earl of Godolphin is dead, and his faults may sojourn with him in the grave, till some historian shall think fit to revive part of them, for instruction and warning to posterity. But it grieved me to the soul, to see so many good epithets bestowed by Mr. Steele upon the bishops: nothing has done more hurt to that sacred order for some years past, than to hear some prelates extolled by whigs, dissenters, republicans, socinians, and, in short, by all who are enemies to episcopacy. God, in his mercy, for ever keep our prelates from deserving the praises of such panegyrists!

Mr. Steele is discontented that the ministry have not "called the Examiner to account, as well as the Flying-Post." I will inform you, Mr. Bailiff, how that matter

stands. The author of the Flying-Post has thrice a week, for above two years together, published the most impudent reflections upon all the present ministry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of tories. The Examiner, on the other side, writing in defence of those whom her majesty employs in her greatest affairs, and of the cause they are engaged in, has always borne hard upon the whigs, and now and then upon some of their leaders. Now, sir, we reckon here, that supposing the persons on both sides to be of equal intrinsic worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal, to reflect on a majority in power, than a minority out of power. Put the case, that an odd rascally tory in your borough should presume to abuse your worship, who, in the language of Mr. Steele, are first minister, and the majority of your brethren, for sending two such whig representatives up to parliament; and on the other side, that an honest whig should stand in your defence, and fall foul on the tories; would you equally resent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy sit in the stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr. Bailiff; suppose your worship, during your annual administration, should happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of tories; would not the circumstance of your being a magistrate make the crime the greater, than if the like insults were committed on an ordinary tory shopkeeper, by a company of honest whigs? What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr. Steele, now he has the honour to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before?

You must know, sir, that we have several ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the danger of the law. First, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length; but, as I do, that of Mr. St—le:*

* Thus, in the first edition, the name was constantly contracted. N.

so that, although every body alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redress in any court of justice. Secondly, by putting cases; thirdly, by insinuations; fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the persons we would reflect on; fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or stamped for the purpose, which every body can tell how to apply. Without going on farther, it will be enough to inform you, that by some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr. Steele gives you to understand, that the queen's honour is blasted by the actions of her present ministers; that "her prerogative is disgraced by creating a dozen peers, who, by their votes, turned a point upon which your all depended; that these ministers made the queen lay down her conquering arms, and deliver herself up to be vanquished; that they made her majesty betray her allies, by ordering her army to face about, and leave them in the moment of distress; that the present ministers are men of poor and narrow conceptions, self-interested, and without benevolence to mankind, and were brought into her majesty's favour for the sins of the nation: and only think what they may do, not what they ought to do," p. 43. This is the character given by Mr. Steele of those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to place in the highest stations of the kingdom, and to trust with the management of her most weighty affairs: and this is the gentleman who cries out, "Where is honour? where is government? where is prerogative?" p. 40; because the Examiner has sometimes dealt freely with those whom the queen has thought fit to discard, and the parliament to censure.

But Mr. Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince, "that any man should be hindered from offering his thoughts upon public affairs;" and resolves to do it, "though with the loss of her majesty's favour," p. 45.

If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by Scripture; Mr. Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, "What have parsons to do with politics?" I ask, what shadow of a pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in matters of state? to print and publish them? "to lay them before the queen and ministry?" and to reprove both for maladministration? How did he acquire these abilities of directing in the councils of princes? Was it from *publishing* Tattlers and Spectators, and writing now and then a Guardian? was it from his being a soldier, alchemist,* gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, or gentleman usher? No; but he insists it is every man's right to find fault with the administration in print, whenever they please: and therefore you, Mr. Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publish pamphlets, and "lay them before the queen and ministry," to show your utter dislike of all their proceedings; and for this reason, because you can certainly see and apprehend, with your own eyes and understanding, those dangers which the ministers do not.

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr. Steele resolves, as he tells you, p. 46, when he comes into the house, "to follow no leaders, but vote according to the dictates of his conscience." He must, at that rate, be a very useless member to his party, unless his conscience be already cut out and shaped for their service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenour of his life. I would only

* Sir Richard Steele was one of the last eminent men who entertained hopes of being successful in the pursuit of the Philosopher's stone. His laboratory (as I have been assured by the late George Steevens, esq.) was at Poplar, a village near London; and is now converted into a garden-house. N.

have his friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally: for, as it was said of Cranmer, "Do the archbishop an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." So I do affirm of your member, "Do Mr. Steele a good turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to let slip a very trivial matter which I should be sorry to have done. In reading this pamphlet, I observed several mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till, turning to the end, I found there was only one erratum, thus set down, "Pag. 45, line 28, for *admonition* read *advertisement*." This (to imitate Mr. Steele's propriety of speech) is a very old practice among new writers, to make a wilful mistake, and then put it down as an erratum. The word is brought in upon this occasion, to convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the queen when he was actually under salary, as the Examiner affirms; he assures you, he "had resigned and devested himself of all, before he would presume to write any thing which was so apparently an ADMONITION* to those employed in her majesty's service." In case the Examiner should find fault with this word, he might appeal to the erratum; and having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very safely venture to advertise.

You are to understand, Mr. Bailiff, that in the great rebellion against King Charles I. there was a distinction found out between the personal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which, those rebels professed to fight for the king, while the great guns were discharging against Charles Stuart. After the same manner, Mr. Steele distinguishes between the personal and political prerogative. He does not care to trust this

* Mr. Steele altered this word in his second edition. N.

jewel "to the will, and pleasure, and passion, of her majesty," p. 48. If I am not mistaken, the crown jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could wear them during his reign, else they had as good be in the hands of the subject: so, I conceive, her majesty may and ought to wear the prerogative; that it is hers during life; and she ought to be so much the more careful, neither to soil nor diminish it, for that very reason, because it is by law unalienable. But what must we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr. Steele? It must not be trusted with the queen, because Providence has given her will, pleasure, and passion. Her ministers must not act by the authority of it; for then Mr. Steele will cry out, "What? Are majesty and ministry consolidated? and must there be no distinction between the one and the other?" p. 46. He tells you, p. 48, "The prerogative attends the crown;" and therefore, I suppose, must lie in the Tower, to be shown for twelvepence; but never produced, except at a coronation, or passing an act. "Well, but," says he, "a whole ministry may be impeached and condemned by the house of commons, without the prince's suffering by it." And what follows? Why, therefore, a single burgess of Stockbridge, before he gets into the house, may at any time revile a whole ministry in print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty, or breach of trust!

I am willing to join issue with Mr. Steele in one particular; which perhaps may give you some diversion. He is taxed, by the Examiner and others, for an insolent expression, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He says, the word EXPECT was meant to the ministry, and not to the queen; "but that, however, for argument sake, he will suppose those words were addressed immediately to the queen." Let

me then likewise, for argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous thing, that Mr. Steele were admitted to her majesty's sacred person, to tell his own story, with his letter to you, Mr. Bailiff, in his hand, to have recourse to upon occasion. I think his speech must be in these terms:

"MADAM,

"I Richard Steele, publisher of the Tattler and Spectator, late gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, and pensioner to your majesty, now burgess elect of Stockbridge, do see and apprehend, with my own eyes and understanding, the imminent danger that attends the delay of the demolition of Dunkirk, which I believe your ministers, whose greater concern it is, do not; for, madam, the thing is not done; my lord treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, my fellow subjects, under whose immediate direction it is, are careless, and overlook it, or something worse; I mean, they design to sell it to France, or make use of it to bring in the pretender. This is clear, from their suffering Mr. Tugghe's memorial to be published without punishing the printer. Your majesty has told us, that the equivalent for Dunkirk is already in the French king's hand; therefore all obstacles are removed on the part of France: and I, though a mean fellow, give your majesty to understand, in the best method I can take, and from the sincerity of my grateful heart, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk; as you hope to preserve your person, crown, and dignity, and the safety and welfare of the people committed to your charge."

I have contracted such a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr. Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to suppose her majesty's answer to this speech might be as follows:

"*Mr. Richard Steele, late gazetteer, &c.*

"I do not conceive that any of your titles empower you to be my director, or to report to me the expectations of my people. I know their expectations better than you; they love me, and will trust me. My ministers were of my own free choice; I have found them wise and faithful; and whoever calls them fools or knaves, designs indirectly an affront to myself. I am under no obligation to demolish Dunkirk, but to the most christian king; if you come here as an orator from that prince to demand it in his name, where are your powers? If not, let it suffice you to know, that I have my reasons for deferring it; and that the clamours of a faction shall not be a rule, by which I or my servants are to proceed."

Mr. Steele tells you, "his adversaries are so unjust, they will not take the least notice of what led him into the necessity of writing his letter to the Guardian." And how is it possible, any mortal should know all his necessities? Who can guess whether this necessity were imposed on him by his superiors, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furnish out a Guardian?

But Mr. Steele "has had a liberal education, and knows the world as well as the ministry does, and will therefore speak on, whether he offends them or no, and though their clothes be ever so new; when he thinks his queen and country is (or, as a grammarian would express it, are) ill-treated," p. 50.

It would be good to hear Mr. Steele explain himself upon this phrase of "knowing the world;" because it is a science which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake, who understands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or six faces in the chocolate-house will needs pass for a

man that "knows the world." In the like manner Mr. Steele, who, from some few sprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentleman of the horse guards, thence by several degrees to be an ensign and an alchemist, where he was wholly conversant with the lower part of mankind, thinks he "knows the world" as well as the prime minister; and, upon the strength of that knowledge, will needs direct her majesty in the weightiest matters of government.

And now, Mr. Bailiff, give me leave to inform you that this long letter of Mr. Steele, filled with quotations and a clutter about Dunkirk, was wholly written for the sake of the six last pages, taken up in vindicating himself directly, and vilifying the queen and ministry by innuendoes. He apprehends, that "some representations have been given of him in your town, as, that a man of so small a fortune as he must have secret views or supports, which could move him to leave his employments, &c." p. 56. He answers, by owning "he has indeed very particular views; for he is animated in his conduct by justice and truth, and benevolence to mankind," p. 57. He has given up his employments, because "he values no advantages above the conveniences of life, but as they tend to the service of the public." It seems, he could not "serve the public" as a pensioner, or commissioner of stamped paper; and therefore gave them up, to sit in parliament, "out of charity to his country, and to contend for liberty," p. 58. He has transcribed the common places of some canting moralist *de contemptu mundi, et fuga seculi;* and would put them upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

Here is a most miraculous and sudden reformation, which I believe can hardly be matched in history, or legend. And Mr. Steele, not unaware how slow the world was of belief, has thought fit to anticipate all ob-

ections; he foresees that "prostituted pens will enter-
ain a pretender to such reformations with a recital of his
wn faults and infirmities; but he is prepared for such
sage, and gives himself up to all nameless authors, to be
eated as they please," p. 59.

It is certain, Mr. Bailiff, that no man breathing can
retend to have arrived at such a sublime pitch of vir-
e, as Mr. Steele, without some tendency in the world
suspend at least their belief of the fact, till time and
servation shall determine. But, I hope, few writers
ill be so prostitute as to trouble themselves with "the
ults and infirmities" of Mr. Steele's past life, with what
somewhere else calls "the sins of his youth,"* and in
e of his late papers, confesses to have been numerous
ough. A shifting scambling scene of youth, attended
ith poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill
clinations upon many extravagancies, which, as soon
they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgotten.
esides, I think, popish writers tell us, that the greatest
ners make the greatest saints; but so very quick a
ctification, and carried to so prodigious a height, will
apt to rouse the suspicion of infidels, especially when
ey consider that this pretence of his to so romantic a
rtue, is only advanced by way of solution to that diffi-
lt problem, "Why he has given up his employments?"
nd according to the new philosophy, they will endea-
ur to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For
ample, the question is put, Why Mr. Steele gives up
employment and pension at this juncture? I must
re repeat, with some enlargement, what I said before
this head. These unbelieving gentlemen will an-
er,

First. That a new commission was every day expect-
for the stamped paper, and he knew his name would

* *See the* Guardian, No. 53.

be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly. He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security.

Thirdly. Being a person of great sagacity, he has some foresight of a change, from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost expired; from the little misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from some horrible expectations, wherewith his party have been deceiving themselves and their friends abroad for about two years past.

Fourthly. He hopes to come into all the perquisites of his predecessor Ridpath, and be the principal writer of his faction, where every thing is printed by subscription, which will amply make up the loss of his place.

But it may be still demanded, why he affects those exalted strains of piety and resignation? To this I answer, with great probability, that he has resumed his old pursuits after the philosopher's stone, toward which it is held by all adepts for a most essential ingredient, that a man must seek it merely for the glory of God, and without the least desire of being rich.

Mr. Steele is angry, p. 60, that some of our friends have been reflected on in a pamphlet, because they left us in a point of the greatest consequence; and upon that account, he runs into their panegyric, against his conscience, and the interest of his cause, without considering that those gentlemen have reverted to us again. The case is thus: he never would have praised them if they had remained firm, nor should we have railed at them. The one is full as honest, and as natural as the other. However, Mr. Steele hopes (I beg you, Mr.

Bailiff, to observe the consequence) that notwithstanding this pamphlet's reflecting on some tories who opposed the treaty of commerce, "the ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished."

Mr. Steele says something in commendation of the queen; but stops short, and tells you (if I take his meaning right) "that he shall leave what he has to say on this topic, till he and her majesty are both dead," p. 61. Thus, he defers his praises, as he does his debts, after the manner of the druids, to be paid in another world. If I have ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for studying cadence instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjusted his conceptions to them. One part of the queen's character is this, "that all the hours of her life are divided between the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of the sublime affairs of her government." Now, if the business of Dunkirk be one of the "sublime affairs of her majesty's government," I think we ought to be at ease; or else she "takes her minutes" to little purpose. No, says Mr. Steele, the queen is a lady; and unless a prince will now and then get drunk with his ministers, "he cannot learn their interests or humours," p. 61; but, this being by no means proper for a lady, she can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are sober. And therefore "all the fellow subjects" of these ministers must watch their motions, and "be very solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary rules of government;" ibid. For while we are foolishly "relying upon her majesty's virtues," these ministers are "taking the advantage of increasing the power of France."

There is a very good maxim, I think it is neither whig nor tory, "that the prince can do no wrong;" which, I doubt, is often applied to very ill purposes. A monarch of Britain is pleased to create a dozen peers,

and to make a peace; both these actions are (for instance) within the undisputed prerogative of the crown, and are to be reputed, and submitted to, as the actions of the prince: but, as a King of England is supposed to be guided, in matters of such importance, by the advice of those he employs in his councils; whenever a parliament thinks fit to complain of such proceedings, as a public grievance, then this maxim takes place, that the prince can do no wrong, and the advisers are called to account. But shall this empower such an individual as Mr. Steele, in his tattling or pamphleteering capacity, to fix "the ordinary rules of government," or to affirm that her ministers, upon the security of her majesty's goodness, are labouring for the grandeur of France?" What ordinary rule of government is transgressed by the queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every tailor in your corporation is as much a fellow subject as Mr. Steele: and do you think, in your conscience, that every tailor of Stockbridge is fit to direct her majesty and her ministers in "the sublime affairs of her government?"

But he persists in it, "that it is no manner of diminution of the wisdom of a prince, that he is obliged to act by the information of others." The sense is admirable; and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to "is no diminution of his wisdom." But, if he would conclude from this sage maxim, that, because a prince "acts by the information of others," therefore those actions may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow subject; I hope there is no man in England so much a whig as to be of his opinion.

Mr. Steele concludes his letter to you, with a story about King William and his French dogkeeper, "who gave that prince a gun loaden only with powder, and

then pretended to wonder how his majesty could miss his aim: which was no argument against the king's reputation for shooting very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing her majesty to be a wise prince, but deceived by wicked counsellors, who are in the interest of France. Her majesty's aim was peace; which, I think, she has not missed; and God be thanked, she has got it, without any more expense, either of shot or powder. Her dogkeepers, for some years past, had directed her gun against her friends, and at last loaded it so deep, that it was in danger to burst in her hands.

You may please to observe, that Mr. Steele calls this dogkeeper a minister; which, with humble submission, is a gross impropriety of speech. The word is derived from the Latin, where it properly signifies a servant; but in English is never made use of otherwise than to denominate those who are employed in the service of church or state: so that the appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd, than it would be for you, Mr. Bailiff, to send your apprentice for a pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy: to call a petty constable a magistrate, or the common hangman a minister of justice. I confess, when I was choqued* at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his conjecture, that it might possibly be intended for a reflection, or jest: but, if there be any thing farther in it than a want of understanding to our language, I take it be only a refinement upon the old levelling principle of the whigs. Thus, in their opinion, a dogkeeper is as much a minister as any secretary of state: and thus Mr. Steele and my lord treasurer are both fellow subjects. I confess, I

* This expressive word, from the French *choquer*, has not yet found admission in the best of our English dictionaries: nor do any of Dr. Johnson's definitions of the common verb *choke* come up to the idea in which *choqued* is used above. N.

have known some ministers, whose birth, or qualities, or both, were such, that nothing but the capriciousness of fortune, and the iniquity of the times, could ever have raised them above the station of dogkeepers; and to whose administration I should be loath to entrust a dog I had any value for; because, by the rule of proportion, they who treated their prince like a slave, would have used their fellow subjects like dogs; and yet how they would treat a dog, I can find no similitude to express: yet, I well remember, they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themselves, and bark at their mistress. However, while they were in service, I wish they had only kept her majesty's dogs, and not been trusted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy story of King William and his dogkeeper.

I have now, Mr. Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr. Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it shall be demolished, or whether it shall be demolished or not; neither he, nor you, nor I, have any thing to do in the matter. Let us all say what we please, her majesty will think herself the best judge, and her ministers the best advisers: neither has Mr. Steele pretended to prove, that any law, ecclesiastical or civil, statute or common, is broken, by keeping Dunkirk undemolished, so long as the queen shall think it best for the service of herself and her kingdoms; and it is not altogether impossible, that there may be some few reasons of state, which have not been yet communicated to Mr. Steele. I am, with respect to the borough and yourself, Sir,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant, &c.

REMARKS

ON THE

CHARACTERS OF THE COURT

OF

QUEEN ANNE.

The ORIGINAL CHARACTERS are printed in Roman;
SWIFT'S REMARKS in *Italics*.

*** These Characters, drawn up in the name of John Macky, (but written by Mr. Davis, an officer in the Customs) were annexed to "Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq. during the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I." Printed in 1739, from a MS. said to be attested by his son, Spring Macky, Esq.

Dr. Swift's notes are transcribed from a copy formerly belonging to John Putland, Esq. a near relation to the Dean, who took them from Swift's own handwriting. This volume afterward came into the possession of Philip Carteret Webb, Esq. and is now the property of Thomas Astle, Esq. a gentleman to whom the public are indebted for some very accurate and curious publications, and whose valuable collections are rendered infinitely more so by that obliging readiness with which he communicates them at all times, when they are likely to promote the success of any literary undertaking. N.

REMARKS, &c.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

A TALL handsome man for his age, with a very obliging address, of a wonderful presence of mind, so as hardly ever to be discomposed; of a very clear head, and sound judgment; very bold, never daunted for want of success; every way capable of being a great man, if the great success of his arms, and the heaps of favours thrown upon him by his sovereign, do not raise his thoughts above the rest of the nobility, and consequently draw upon him the envy of the people of England. He is turned of 50 years of age. *Detestably covetous.*

DUKE OF ORMOND.

With all the qualities of a great man, except that of a statesman, hating business. He is about 40 years of age. *Fairly enough writ.*

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Never was a greater mixture of honour, virtue, [*none*] and good sense, in any one person, than in him: a great man, attended with a sweetness of behaviour, and easiness of conversation, which charms all who come near him: nothing of the stiffness of a statesman, yet the capacity and knowledge of a piercing wit. He speaks French and Italian as well as his native language: and although but one eye, yet he has a most charming countenance, and is the most generally beloved by the

ladies of any gentleman of his time. He is turned of years old.

DUKE OF SOMERSET.

Is of a middle stature, well shaped, a very bl complexion, a lover of music and poetry; of good ju ment [*not a grain; hardly common sense;*] but, by son of a great hesitation in his speech, wants express He is about 42 years old.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

Has been the finest and handsomest gentleman of time; loves the ladies, and plays; keeps a noble ho and equipage; is tall, well made, and of a princely haviour. Of nice honour in every thing, but the p ing his tradesmen. Past 60 years old. *A very poor derstanding.*

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

He is a nobleman of learning, and good natural p but of no principles. Violent for the high chu yet seldom goes to it. Very proud, insolent, and co ous; and takes all advantages. *This character is truest of any.*

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

He has the exterior air of business; and applica enough to make him very capable. In his habit manners very formal; a tall, thin, very black man, a Spaniard or Jew; about 50 years old. *He fell in the whigs, was an endless talker.*

EARL OF ROMNEY.

He was the great wheel on which the revolu rolled. *He had not a wheel to turn a mouse.* Of g

honour and honesty, with a moderate capacity. *None at all.*

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

He has one only daughter, who will be the richest heiress in Europe. *Now Countess of Oxford; cheated by her father.*

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

He is a gentleman good natured to a fault; very well bred, and has many valuable things in him; is an enemy to business, very credulous, well shaped, black complexion, much like King Charles; not 30 years old. *A shallow coxcomb.*

DUKE OF BOLTON.

Does not make any figure at Court. *Nor any where else. A great booby.*

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

He is a man of honour, nice in paying his debts; and living well with his neighbours in the country, does not much care for the conversation of men of quality, or business. Is a tall, black man, like his father the king; about 40 years old. *He was a most worthy person, very good natured, and had very good sense.*

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Grandson to King Charles II.; a very pretty gentleman; has been abroad in the world; zealous for the constitution of his country. A tall black man, about 25 years old. *Almost a slobberer, without one good quality.*

SIR NATHAN WRIGHTE,

LORD KEEPER,

Is son of a clergyman;* a good common lawyer, a slow chancellor, and no civilian. Chance more than choice brought him the seals. *Very covetous.*

JOHN, [*Ralph*] DUKE OF MONTAGU.

Since the queen's accession to the throne, he has been created a duke, and is near 60 years old. *As arrant a knave as any in his time.*

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

One of the best beloved gentlemen, by the country party, in England. *A very poor understanding.*

LORD SOMERS.

Of a creditable family in the city of Worcester. *Very mean; his father was a noted rogue.* He is believed to have been the best chancellor that ever sat in the chair. *I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualifications except virtue; he had violent passions, and hardly subdued them by his great prudence.*

LORD HALIFAX.

He is a great encourager of learning and learned men, is the patron of the muses, of very agreeable conversation, a short fair man, not 40 years old. *His encouragements were only good words and good dinners. I never heard him say one good thing, or seem to taste what was said by another.*

EARL OF DORSET.

One of the finest gentlemen in England in the reign of King Charles II. of great learning [*small, or none,*]

* His father was Rector of Thurcaston, in Leicestershire. N.

extremely witty, and has been the author of some of the finest poems in the English language; especially satire. The Mæcenas and prince of our English poets. One of the pleasantest companions in the world, when he likes his company [*not of late years; but a very dull one.*] He is very fat, troubled with the spleen, and turned of 50 years old.

EARL RIVERS.

He was one of the greatest rakes in England in his younger days; but always a lover of the constitution of his country; is a gentleman of very good sense, and very cunning; brave in his person, a lover of play, and understands it perfectly well; has a very good estate, and improves it every day; something covetous; is a tall handsome man, and of a very fair complexion. He is turned of 40 years old. *An arrant knave in common dealings, and very prostitute.*

EARL OF PORTLAND.

He is supposed to be the richest subject in Europe, very profuse in gardening, birds, and household furniture, but mighty frugal in every thing else; of a very lofty mien, and yet not proud; of no deep understanding, considering his experience; neither much beloved nor hated by any sort of people, English or Dutch. He is turned of 50 years old. *As great a dunce as ever I knew.*

EARL OF DERBY.

On his brother's death he came to the house of peers, where he never will make any great figure, the sword being more his profession; he is a fair complexioned man, well shaped, taller than the ordinary size, and a

man of honour. He is turned of 40 years old. *As arrant a ********* as his brother.*

EARL OF PETERBOROW.

He affects popularity; and loves to preach in coffee-houses, and public places; is an open enemy to revealed religion; brave in his person; has a good estate; does not seem expensive, yet always in debt, and very poor. A well shaped thin man, with a very brisk look, near 50 years old. *This character is for the most part true.*

EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

This gentleman is endued with a great deal of learning, virtue [*no,*] and good sense [*no;*] very honest, and zealous for the liberty of the people.

EARL OF STAMFORD.

Is one of the branches of the Greys, a noble family in England. He does not want sense; but, by reason of a defect in his speech, wants elocution; is a very honest man himself, but very suspicious of every body that is not of his party, for which he is very zealous; jealous of the power of the clergy, who, he is afraid, may some time or other, influence our civil government. From a good estate he is become very poor, and much in debt; he is something above the middle stature, and turned of 50 years old. *He looked and talked like a very weak man; but it was said he spoke well in council.*

EARL OF THANET.

He is a good country gentleman, a great assertor of the prerogatives of the monarchy and the church; a thin, tall, black, redfaced man, turned of 60 years old. *Of great piety and charity.*

EARL OF SANDWICH.

Of very ordinary parts; married the witty Lord Rochester's daughter, who makes him very expensive; a tall, thin, black man, about 35 years old. *As much a puppy as ever I saw, very ugly, and a fop.*

EARL OF RANELAGH.

He is a bold man, and very happy in jests and repartees; and has often turned the humour of the house of commons, when they have designed to have been very severe. He is very fat, black, and turned of 60 years old. *The vainest old fool I ever saw.*

LORD LUCAS.

He is every way a plain man, yet took a great deal of pains to seem knowing and wise; every body pitied him, when the queen turned him out, for his seeming good nature, and real poverty; he is very fat, very expensive, and very poor; turned of 50 years old. *A good plain humdrum.*

EARL OF WINCHELSEA.

He loves jests and puns [*I never observed it,*] and that sort of low wit; is of short stature, well shaped, with a very handsome countenance. *Being very poor, he complied too much with the party he hated.*

LORD POULET OF HINTON.

He is certainly one of the hopefullest gentlemen in England; is very learned, virtuous, and a man of honour, much esteemed in the country, for his generous way of living with the gentry, and his charity to the poorest sort. He makes but a mean figure in his per-

son, is of a middle stature, fair complexion, not handsome, nor 30 years old. *This character is fair enough.*

LORD TOWNSHEND,

Is a gentleman of great learning, attended with a sweet disposition; a lover of the constitution of his country; is beloved by every body that knows him [*I except one;*] and when once employed in the administration of public affairs, may show himself a great man. He is tall and handsome; about 30 years old.

LORD DARTMOUTH.

He sets up for a critic in conversation, makes jests, and loves to laugh at them; takes a great deal of pains in his office, and is in a fair way of rising at court; is a short thick man, of a fair complexion, turned of 34 years old. *This is fair enough writ; but he has little sincerity.*

LORD WHARTON.

One of the completest gentlemen in England; has a very clear understanding, and manly expression, with abundance of wit. He is brave in his person, much of a libertine, of a middle stature, fair complexion, and 50 years old. *The most universal villain I ever knew.*

LORD MAHON.

He is brave in his person, bold in his expressions, and rectifies as fast as he can the slips of his youth by acts of honesty; which he now glories in more, than he was formerly extravagant. *He was little better than a conceited talker in company.*

EARL OF KENT.

Is the first branch of the ancient family of Grey. The present gentleman was much esteemed, when Lord Rathen; was always very moderate, has good sense, and a good estate; which, with his quality, must make him always bear a considerable figure in the nation; he is a handsome man, not above 40 years old. *He seems a good natured man, but of very little consequence.*

EARL OF LINDSAY.

A fine gentleman, has both wit and learning. *I never observed a grain of either.*

EARL OF ABINGDON.

A gentleman of fine parts, makes a good figure in the counties of Oxford and Buckingham, is very high for the monarchy and church, of a black complexion, past 40 years old. *Very covetous.*

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

He is very subtle and cunning, never entered into the measures of King William; nor ever will, in any probability, make any great appearance, in any other reign. He is above 60 years. *If it be old Chesterfield, I have heard he was the greatest knave in England.*

EARL OF BERKELEY.

A gentleman of learning, parts, and a lover of the constitution of his country; a short fat man, 50 years old. *Intolerably lazy and indolent, and somewhat covetous.*

EARL OF FEVERSHAM.

A third son of the family of Duras in France; he came over with one of the Duke of York's family; is a middle-

statured brown man, turned of 50 years old. *He was a very dull old fellow.*

EARL OF GRANTHAM.

He is a very pretty gentleman, fair complexioned, and past 30 years old. *And good for nothing.*

LORD DE LA WARR.

A free jolly gentleman, turned of 40 years old. *Of very little sense; but formal, and well stocked with the low kind of lowest politics.*

LORD LEXINGTON.

He is of good understanding, and very capable to be in the ministry; a well-bred gentleman, and an agreeable companion; handsome, of a brown complexion; 40 years old. *A very moderate degree of understanding.*

LORD GREY OF WERK.

A sweet disposed gentleman; he joined King William at the revolution, and is a zealous asserter of the liberties of the people; a thin, brown, handsome man, middle stature, turned of 40 years old. *Had very little in him.*

LORD CHANDOS;

Was warm against King William's reign, and does not make any great figure in this; but his son Mr. Bridges,* does; being a member of the house of commons, one of the counsellors to the prince, and a very worthy gentleman. *But a great complier with every court.*

* Afterward Duke of Chandos. N.

LORD GUILDFORD;

Is son to the lord keeper North, has been abroad, does not want sense, nor application to business, and his genius leads him that way. He is fat, fair, of middle stature, and past 30 years old. *A mighty silly fellow.*

LORD GRIFFIN;

Having followed King James's fortunes, is now in France. He was always a great sportsman, and brave; a good companion, turned of 60 years old. *His son was a plain drunken fellow.*

LORD CHOLMONDELEY.

This lord is a great lover of country sports; is handsome in his person, and turned of forty years old. *Good for nothing, as far as ever I knew.*

LORD BUTLER OF WESTON.

Earl of Arran in Ireland, and brother to the Duke of Ormond; of very good sense, though seldom shows it. Of a fair complexion, middle stature, toward 40 years old. *This is right; but he is the most negligent of his own affairs.*

MR. MANSEL.

He is a gentleman of a good deal of wit and good nature; a lover of the ladies, and a pleasant companion; is very thin, of a fair complexion, middle stature, and turned of 30 years old. *Of very good nature, but a very moderate capacity.*

ROBERT HARLEY, ESQ.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

He is skilled in most things, and very eloquent [*a great lie*;] was bred a presbyterian, yet joins with the church party in every thing; and they do nothing without him.

MR. BOYLE,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

Is a good companion in conversation; agreeable among the ladies; serves the queen very assiduously in council; makes a considerable figure in the house of commons; by his prudent administration obliges every body in the exchequer; and in time may prove a great man. Is turned of 30 years old. *Had some very scurvy qualities, particularly avarice.*

SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND,

POSTMASTER GENERAL.

He is a gentleman of a very sweet, easy, affable disposition; of good sense, extremely zealous for the constitution of his country, yet does not seem over forward; keeps an exact unity among the officers under him, and encourages them in their duty, through a peculiar familiarity; by which he obliges them, and keeps up the dignity of being master. He is a handsome man, middle stature, toward 40 years old. *A fair character.*

MR. SMITH,

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

A gentleman of much honour, a lover of the constitution of his country; a very agreeable companion in con-

versation, a bold orator in the house of commons,* when the interest of his country is at stake; of a good address, middle stature, fair complexion, turned of 40 years old. *I thought him a very heavy man.*

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL.D.

He was very poor at the revolution; had no business to support him all the reign of King William; yet made a good figure. He is a very cloudy-looked man, fat, of middle stature, about 50 years old. *He was used ill by most ministers; he ruined his estate, which put him under a necessity to comply with the times.*

MATTHEW PRIOR, ESQ.

COMMISSIONER OF TRADE.

On the queen's accession to the throne, he was continued in his office, is very well at court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of my Lord Jersey's, whom he supports by his advice. Is one of the best poets in England, but very factious in conversation; a thin, hollow-looked man, turned of 40 years old. *This is near the truth.*

THOMAS TENISON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A plain, good, heavy man, now much in years and wearing out; very tall, of a fair complexion, and 70 years old. *The most good for nothing prelate I ever knew.*

GILBERT BURNET,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Of a very good family in Scotland, of the name of Burnet, his father was lord [*laird*] of Cremont. He is

He was some time speaker of the house of commons. N.

one of the greatest [*Scotch*] orators of the age he lives in. His History of the Reformation and his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, show him to be a man of great learning; but several of his other works show him to be a man neither of prudence nor temper; his sometimes opposing, and sometimes favouring, the dissenters, has much exposed him to the generality of the people of England; yet he is very useful in the house of peers, and proves a great pillar, both of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, against the encroachments of a party that would destroy both. He is a large, bold looked man, strong made, and turned of 50 years old. *His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting, excepting of those who were friends to the presbyterians. His own true character would take up too much time for me (who knew him well) to describe it.**

GEORGE STEPNEY, ESQ.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE EMPEROR.

A gentleman of admirable natural parts, very learned, one of the best poets [*scarce of a third rate*] now in England, and perhaps equal to any that ever was.

MR. METHUEN,

AMBASSADOR TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

A man of intrigue, but very muddy in his conceptions, and not quickly understood in any thing. In his complexion and manners much of a Spaniard; a tall, black man, 50 years old. *A profligate rogue, without religion or morals; but cunning enough, yet without abilities of any kind.*

* In the valuable library of the Marquis of Lansdown is a copy of Burnet's 'History of his own times,' with marginal remarks by *Swift*. N.

LORD RABY,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

He is a young gentleman de bon naturel, handsome, of fine understanding [*very bad, and cannot spell*], and, with application, may prove a man of business. He is of low stature [*he is tall*] well shaped, with a good face, fair complexioned, not 30 years old.

MR. HILL,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE DUKE OF SAVOY;

Is a gentleman of good family in Shropshire. He was designed for the church, and took deacon's [*priest's*] orders; but having a genius for business, and falling into the acquaintance of my Lord Ranelagh, when tutor to my Lord Hyde, he was sent into Flanders as paymaster general to the English troops there. He is a gentleman of very clear parts, and affects plainness and simplicity [*au contraire*] in his dress and conversation particularly. He is a favourite to both parties [*to neither*]: and is beloved for his easy access and affable way by those he has business to do with. He is a thin, tall man [*short, if I remember right*], taller than the ordinary stature, near 50 years old.

SIR LAMBERT BLACKWELL,

ENVOY TO THE GREAT DUKE OF TUSCANY.

He affects much the gentleman in his dress, and the minister in his conversation; is very lofty, yet courteous, when he knows his people; much envied by his fellow merchants; of a sanguine complexion, taller than the ordinary size, about 40 years old. *He seemed to be a very good natured man.*

MR. [*Dr.*] AGLIONBY,

ENVOY TO THE SWISS CANTONS.

He has abundance of wit, and understands most of the modern languages well; knows how to tell a story to the best advantage: but has an affected manner of conversation; is thin, splenetic, and tawny complexioned, turned of 60 years old. *He had been a papist.*

MR. D'AVENANT,

AGENT AT FRANKFORT.

A very giddy headed young fellow, with some wit, about 25 years old. *He is not worth mentioning.*

LORD CUTTS.

He has abundance of wit, but too much seized with vanity and self-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and very brave; towards 50 years old. *The vainest old fool alive.*

LORD GALLWAY.

One of the finest gentlemen in the army, with a head fitted for the cabinet as well as the camp; is very modest, vigilant, and sincere; a man of honour and honesty [*in all directly otherwise,*] without pride or affectation; wears his own hair, is plain in his dress and manners; towards 60 years old. *A deceitful, hypocritical, factious knave; a damnable hypocrite, of no religion.*

EARL OF ORKNEY.

He is a very well shaped black man; is brave; but, by reason of a hesitation in his speech, wants expression. Married Mrs. Villiers, and got a good estate by her; is turned of 40 years old. *An honest good natured gentleman, and has much distinguished himself as a soldier.*

SIR CHARLES HARO,

LIEUTENANT GENERAL.

At the revolution he had a company in the foot guards, was afterward lieutenant colonel to that regiment; was made colonel to the fusiliers, and gradually advanced to the post he now has, which he well deserves, being of good understanding, and abundance of learning; fit to command if not too covetous; he is a short black man, 50 years old. *His father was a groom, he was a man of sense, without one grain of honesty.*

COLONEL MATTHEW AYLMER,*

VICE ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.

He has a very good head, indefatigable and designing; is very zealous for the liberties of the people, makes a good figure in the parliament, as well as the fleet; is handsome in his person, turned of 50 years old. *A virulent party man, born in Ireland.*

REAR ADMIRAL BYNG;

Is one of the best sailors in England, and a fine gentleman in every thing else; of a good family and estate in Bedfordshire, understands all the several branches of the navy thoroughly; is a fair complexioned man, and toward 50 years old. *Of a good old Kentish family.*

JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

On the queen's accession to the throne, he made efforts to get into the administration; but has not yet succeeded, though he is well received at court; he is brave in his person, with a rough air of boldness; of good sense, very forward and hot for what he undertakes; ambitious and haughty, a violent enemy; has been very extrava-

* Afterward Lord Aylmer. N.

gant in his manner of living, but now grows covetous; he is supposed to have some thoughts toward the crown of England when the queen dies; being descended from the house of Stuart, and having a great interest in that kingdom, by his relations and dependents. He has a great estate, and three brothers earls, Selkirk, Orkney, and Ruglen; a fourth a commander at sea; he is of a middle stature, well made, of a black coarse complexion, a brisk look, toward 50 years old. *He was made master of the ordnance, a worthy, good natured person, very generous, but of a middle understanding; he was murdered by that villain Macartney, an Irish Scot.*

DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Few of his years have a better understanding, nor a more manly behaviour. He has seen most of the courts of Europe, is very hadsome in his person, fair complexioned; about 25 years old. *Ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot; has no principle, but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct.*

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

Representative of the ancient and noble family of Graham; great grandson to the famous Montrose, who was hanged and quartered for Charles I; and grandson, by the mother, to the Duke of Rothes. He inherits all the great qualities of these two families; with a sweetness of behaviour, which charms all those who know him; has improved himself in most foreign courts; is very beautiful in his person, and about 25 years old. *Now very homely, and makes a sorry appearance.*

EARL OF SUTHERLAND.

A very honest man, a great assertor of the liberties of the people; has a good, rough sense; is open and free;

a great lover of his bottle, and his friend; brave in his person, which he has shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it. Is a fat, fair complexioned man; 45 years old. *A blundering, rattlepated, drunken sot.*

SECRETARY JOHNSTOUN,

NOW LORD REGISTER.

He is very honest [*a treacherous knave,*] yet something too credulous and suspicious; endued with a great deal of learning and virtue; is above little tricks, free from ceremony; and would not tell a lie for the world. [*One of the greatest knaves even in Scotland.*] Very knowing in the affairs of foreign courts, and the constitution of both kingdoms; a tall, fair man, and toward 50 years old.

MR. CARSTAIRS.

A presbyterian minister, who fled from Scotland, after the insurrection for religion, in the reign of Charles II. He is the cunningest, subtle dissembler in the world, with an air of sincerity; a dangerous enemy, because always hid: an instance of which was Secretary Johnstoun, to whom he pretended friendship, till the very morning he gave him a blow; though he had been worming him out of the king's favour for many months before; he is a fat, sanguine complexioned fair man, always smiling where he designs most mischief; a good friend, when he is sincere; turned of 50 years old. *A true character; but not strong enough by a fiftieth part.*

EARL OF MARR.

He is a very good manager in his private affairs, which were in disorder when his father died; and is a staunch countryman, fair complexioned, low stature, and

30 years old. *He is crooked; he seemed to be a gent man of good sense and good nature.*

ANDREW FLETCHER.

A gentleman of a fair estate in Scotland, attend with the improvement of a good education, He l written some excellent tracts, but not published in l name; and has a very fine genius; is a low thin m brown complexion, full of fire, with a stern, sour lo and 50 years old. *A most arrogant, conceited pedant politics; cannot endure the least contradiction in any his visions or paradoxes.*

EARL OF MIDDLETON.

He was against the violent measures of King Jame reign; and, for that reason, made no great figure court while that prince was upon the throne; yet l continued firm to his majesty's interest to the last; w proof against all the offers made him by King Willia and after being frequently imprisoned in England, f lowed King James to France; when he had the ch administration given him. He is one of the polit gentlemen in Europe; has a great deal of wit, mix with a sound judgment, and a very clear understandin of an easy, indifferent address, but a careless way living. He is a black man, of a middle stature, with sanguine complexion; and one of the pleasantest co panions in the world. Toward 60 years old. *Sir W liam Temple told me, he was a very valuable man; a a good scholar. I once saw him.*

EARL OF WEEMS.

He has not yet been in the administration; is a f personage, and very beautiful; has good sense, and i man of honour. About 30 years old. *He was a bl man, and handsome for a Scot.*

THE

PUBLIC SPIRIT

OF THE

WHIGS,

SET FORTH IN THEIR GENEROUS ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE AUTHOR OF THE CRISIS.

WITH

Some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1713-14.

On the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scotch lords then in London went in a body, and complained to Queen Anne, of the affront put on them and their nation by the Author of this Treatise. Whereupon a proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering him.—ORRERY.

THE

PUBLIC SPIRIT

OF THE

WHIGS.

.NNOT, without some envy, and a just resent-
against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon
enerosity and tenderness, wherewith the heads, and
pal members of a struggling faction, treat those
will undertake to hold a pen in their defence.
the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more
ole, because the benefits they confer are almost
If any of their labourers can scratch out a
ilet, they desire no more; there is no question of-
about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a
ilet come out upon demand, in a proper juncture,
iall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid
hand; every one of the party who is able to read,
an spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several
inds of each production shall be sent among their
s through the kingdom: the work shall be reported
able, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise
nking clamours, and confirm the scandal of intro-
g popery and the pretender, upon the queen and
inisters.
iong the present writers on that side, I can recol-
out three of any great distinction; which are, the

Flying Post, Mr. Dunton, and the author of the Crisis.* The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the only true, genuine, original author, Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch Gazetteer as one of the best pens in England. Mr. Dunton has been longer, and more conversant in books, than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he has, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, entitled Neck or Nothing, must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit, of any which has appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the lord treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess, I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his lordship's last hand. The third, and principal of this triumvirate, is the author of the Crisis; who, although he must yield to the Flying Post, in knowledge of the world and skill in politics, and to Mr. Dunton, in keenness of satire and variety of reading, has yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of

* Mr. Steele was expelled the house of commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the house of lords was moved against the Dean for the Reply. The plan of the Crisis was laid and chiefly executed by Mr. Moore, of the Inner Temple; and many hints of it came from Archbishop Tenison, whose steward obtained very large subscriptions for it. "Memoirs of Steele, 1731," p. 14.—Yet, in the house of commons, Steele acknowledged himself to be the author. N.

his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shown to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It has been advertised for several months in the Englishman,* and other papers, that a pamphlet, called the Crisis, should be published at a proper time, in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form; because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink ninepence in the shilling, and leave but threepence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But, a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopped; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised that the Crisis could not appear, till the ladies had shown their zeal against the pretender, as well as the men; against the pretender, in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the chevalier might know, he was so far from pretending to

* A paper written by the same author in favour of the preceding administration. H.

a monarchy here, that he could not so much as pretend to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's, the publisher of the Crisis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds, into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it, they will answer, no; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the pretender; they desire no more; it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelvepenny treatise, will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that has been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine, either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or not.

But, in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, farther than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of Crisis, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of

the queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, A miracle! a miracle! it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors; and so the cry goes round without examining into the cheat. Thus the whigs among us give about the cry, A pamphlet! a pamphlet! the Crisis! the Crisis! not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recall their stragglers, and unite their numbers, by sound and impudence; as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it; wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet toward you, the first words you perceive are, The Crisis; or, A discourse, &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four translations of the word Crisis, any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge.* Next, what he calls a discourse, consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for, as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for themselves in the title, under the name of some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor. Another circumstance worthy our information in the title page, is, that the crown has been settled by previous acts. I never heard of any act

* See this Letter of Steele in a former part of the present volume, p. 131. N.

of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. A Discourse, representing from the most authentic Records, &c. He has borrowed this expression from some writer, who probably understood the words; but this gentleman has altogether misapplied them: and, under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, farther than to show the generosity of our adversaries, in encouraging a writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a title page, with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty, and the meaning of the first paragraphs, are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he has made a comment upon the acts of settlement, which he lays before them, and conjures them to recommend in their writings and discourses, to their fellow-subjects: and he does all this, out of a just deference to their great power and influence. This is the right whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops, in their letters or speeches to their own clergy, proceed no farther than to exhortation; but this writer conjures the whole clergy of the church, to recommend his comment upon the laws of the land in their writings and discourses. I would fain know, who made him a commentator upon the laws of the land; after which it will be

time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy to recommend his comments from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy, there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction; the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is, the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam;* for he knows well enough they have not the twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He has a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but has lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sidelong, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or not; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But, when with great difficulty I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation, at seeing the character of a censor, a guardian, an Englishman, a commentator on the laws, an instructor of the clergy, assumed by a child of obscurity, without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded, of late to copy after the Bishop of Sarum, has, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections under the appearance

of admonitions; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution, from men, who are innocent of such designs; when he must needs confess, the whole design of his pamphlet is, to inflame the people with apprehensions of danger from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as innocent men as the last.

What shall I say to the pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer; and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the Tattlers and Spectators, where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate? was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? has he adhered to his character in his paper called The Englishman, whereof he is allowed to be the sole author, without any competition? what does he think of the letter signed by himself, which relates to Molesworth, in whose* defence, he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to go-

* The right honourable Robert Molesworth, one of the privy council and member of the house of commons in Ireland, created a peer by King George I. The lower house of convocation there preferred a complaint against him for disrespectful words, which being represented in England, he was removed from the council: to justify him against this complaint, was the subject of Steele's Letter. See the Englishman, Jan. 19, 1713-14. No. 46. N.

vernors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writing, and then point me out a divine who knows less of the constitution of England than he: witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and the submission to absolute emperors. This is gross ignorance, below a schoolboy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history, wherein lads are instructed, reached little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors, we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who has read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary; that the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles, by reading the histories of Rome and Greece; which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the Crisis, could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But, would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? It is, that they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed, since the revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties.

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Crisis; to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, the kingdom had not been in its present condition; but we have too many of such proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate-houses and factious clubs; and* who, if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom had not been in its present condition, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament relating to the succession, are preferable to all other civil institutions whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point, could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the pretender, and turned papists, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman, knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England (except nonjurors) who do not abhor the thoughts of the pretender† reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the Bishop of Sarum,‡ which

* Here the nominative 'who' has no verb to which it refers in the rest of the sentence. S.

† It should be—of the pretender's reigning over us, not pretender reigning, &c. As we should write—of *his* reigning over us, not of *him* reigning, &c. S.

‡ Dr. Gilbert Burnet. H.

our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer, by one of their members, to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms:

"My Lord and Gentleman,

"The clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice; and if they knew any crimes, from which either of you were as free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to avoid, they would return your favour as near as possible, in the same style and manner. However, that your advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to the pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a plot to restore the late King James, and received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have been since tampering with his pretended son, and to gratify their ambition, their avarice, their malice and revenge, are now willing to restore him, at the expense of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, good my lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the queen and ministers, who have been hitherto content with only disappointing the lurking villanies of your faction, may be at last provoked to expose them."

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he does not insinuate as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only insinuates, that they give too much cause for such insinuations.

I will upon occasion strip some of his insinuations from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, be-

cause here he endeavours to mould up his rancour and civility together; by which constraint, he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore that I have scraped off his good manners, in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the queen and her ministers, is but a colour of zeal toward them; that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverell's trial; that the clergy, as they are men of sense and honour, ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design of the present men in power, in that, and all their proceedings since in favour of the church, was, to bring in popery, France, and the pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God.

I cannot see why the clergy, as men of sense and men of honour (for he appeals not to them as men of religion) should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry, any way tending toward bringing in the pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people, had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to inflame the people with any such apprehensions. His danger of a

popish successor, from any steps of the present ministry, is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those, who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction who compass heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author exhorts the clergy to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the whigs, to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. Steele? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverell's trial, particularly those of Stanhope,* Lechmere, King,†

* James Stanhope, grandson to the first Earl of Chesterfield by his second lady, having served when very young as a volunteer under the Duke of Savoy, was made a captain in the footguards with the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1694; was a member of the house of commons from 1700 till created a peer; served a volunteer in 1702 in the expedition to Cadiz, and next year in Portugal; was made a brigadier-general in 1704; envoy extraordinary to Charles III. in 1706; major-general in 1707; and commander in chief of the forces in Spain 1708; same year he subdued Minorca; and in 1710 commanded the English forces at the battles of Almanza and Saragossa, to which victories he greatly contributed, and facilitated the march of Charles III. to Madrid. He was constituted first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, April 11, 1717; created Viscount Stanhope of Mahon, July 21; secretary of state, March 21, 1717-18; Earl Stanhope, April 7, 1718; and was sent the same year to France and Spain, to conclude the negotiations for a general peace; was one of the lords justices in 1719; was twice in France, where he brought the King of Spain to accede to the quadruple alliance; and on his return was again one of the lords justices. He was suddenly seized with a dizziness in his head, occasioned by the vehemence of a debate in the house of peers, Feb. 4, 1720-1; and died next day. N.

† Peter King was born at Exeter, and brought up to the trade of a grocer, or oil-man, in that city. Being of a studious disposition, he devoted all his leisure to literature, in the acquisition of which he made a considerable progress. He was related to Mr. Locke, who, on seeing his treatise in defence of the rights of the church, persuaded him to apply himself to the law. He was chosen recorder of

Parker,* and some others, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of some in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country (in which and the Coptick Mr. Steele is equally skilled) a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses. This difficulty is easily solved; for by politics, they mean obedience. Mr. Hoadly,† who is a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function. Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation, had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here, Mr. Steele issues out his licence to the clergy, to preach up the danger of a popish pretender, in defiance of the queen and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not understand. I have known many of these

London in July 1708, and knighted the 12th of September following; was appointed lord chief justice of the common pleas, Oct. 27, 1714; created Baron King of Oakham, May 29, 1725; and in June the same year declared lord chancellor; which office he resigned in Nov. 1733; and died July 22, 1734. N.

* Thomas Parker, called to the degree of serjeant at law June 8, 1705, was appointed queen's serjeant; knighted, and made lord chief justice of the queen's bench, March 11, 1709-10, on the death of the Chief Justice Holt; created Baron of Macclesfield, March 10, 1715-16; made lord chancellor, May 12, 1718; created Viscount Parker of Ewelme, and Earl of Macclesfield, Nov. 5, 1721; and died April 22, 1732, aged 64; having been deprived of the great seal several years before, on a charge of selling the places of masters in chancery, of which he was convicted. N.

† Doctor Benjamin Hoadly, created Bishop of Bangor by King George I. in 1715, translated to Hereford in 1721, to Salisbury in 1723, and to Winchester in 1734. H.

able politicians furnished, before they were of age, with all the necessary topics of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polysyllables, capable of maintaining an argument that would shine in the Crisis; whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and has written from no other fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresses himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the mortality of those self-denying prelates he celebrates) who are in his principles, and among these, only such as live in and about London; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them they are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity, the bishops adhered to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the cause of truth. By those terms, the public cause, and the cause of truth, he understands the cause of the whigs, in opposition to the queen and her servants: therefore by the learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry, he must understand the Bank and East-India company, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction has lately got the better of their interest. For, let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the surrounded clergy, and the surrounding gentry wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates; and adhering to a very different cause of truth, as will soon, I hope, be manifest, by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of contempt and derision, which the clergy are

to expect from his faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God, for our sins, to visit us with so fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent, (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character,) where he tells us, that noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal. What other instances of zeal has this gentleman or the rest of his party been able to produce? If clamour be noise, it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes; and if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny, be the fruit of wrath, read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the zealots of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffee-houses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr. Steele tells us, we have a religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth; it would be good to know what religion he professes: for the clergy, to whom he speaks, will never allow him to be a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the truth of the gospel, and the piety and wisdom of its preachers, are a sufficient support in an evil age against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of secular power, unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little farther, and think, that upon some occasions, they want a little enlargement of assistance from the secular power, against atheists, deists, so-

cinians, and other heretics. Every first Sunday* in Lent a part of the Liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which, the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which, for some years past, has been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity: which the author tells us, is the policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order, a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue. If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort, than Mr. Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting in quotation, will not be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his ignorance and malice together; because it gives his answerer double work: it is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call two mediums, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer, with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an overmatch for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of the civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. "I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature

* So it has stood in all editions till 1801; though marked out as an erratum by the author, at the end of Oldisworth's Examiner, March 1, 1713-14. It should be, "every first day in Lent." N.

of civil institutions. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities, known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority; the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision."

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Libya; and begin with, "So have I seen."* Such a fiction I suppose may be justified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: "As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c. then if they see a wise great man, &c." Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr. Steele turns into a fact, after such a manner as if he had seen it a hundred times, and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: But Mr. Steele imagines such a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their unruliness quelled, and their passions cooled by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the man of authority dropped from the clouds; for, without some previous form of government, no such crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be ac-

* See the Περὶ Βάθους. N.

quainted with the merits and dignity of any particular man among them. But to pursue his scheme; this man of authority, who cools the crowd by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open, or clandestine tyrant. A clandestine tyrant I take to be a king of Brentford who keeps his army in disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people "calmly take farther measures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power." All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, is what seems reasonable to common sense; that is, in other words, it seems reasonable to reason. This is what he calls giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions. To which I answer with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to show me in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary properties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of resistance. What has resistance to do with the succession of the house of Hanover, that the whig writers should perpetually affect to tack them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the queen and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by another revolution. Are cases of extreme necessity to be introduced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former has been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from

the present lord chancellor's* speech in defence of Mr. Sacheverell: "that there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied although not expressed in the general rule [of obedience]." These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense; which in any other author I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station; but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation, than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much civility, looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his lordship a very great man, and a great living authority; places himself in company with General Stanhope and Mr. Hoadly; and in short, takes the most effectual method in his power of ruining his lordship in the opinion of every man who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of resistance, and the true revolution principles and provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow servants.

We now come to the Crisis: where we meet with two pages, by way of introduction to those extracts from act of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like

* Sir Simon Harcourt, who in 1708 had resigned his place of attorney general, which in 1710 he accepted again; upon the change of the ministry he was made lord keeper, Oct. 9, 1710; created a baron Sept. 3, 1712; and appointed lord chancellor, April 17, 1713. N.

schoolboy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits a hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these: That liberty is a very good thing; that without liberty we cannot be free; that health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either; that no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best; that men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty; even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these, and the like maxims, in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed, and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he has involved them. "We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of men's living, &c.—The true life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations—man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind.—Without liberty our health (among other things) may be at the will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin, and that of our fellow-creatures." If there be any of these maxims, which are not grossly defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction. In the se-

cond, he desires to be understood to mean; that is, he desir to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understan In the third, the life of man consists in conducting his lif In the fourth he affirms, that men's beings are degrade when their passions are no longer governed by the di tates of their own minds; directly contrary to lessons all moralists and legislatures, who agree unanimousl that the passions of men must be under the governme of reason and law; neither are the laws of any oth use, than to correct the irregularity of our affection By the last, our health is ruinous to ourselves and oth men, when a tyrant pleases; which I leave to him t make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors, for tran mitting to us the blessing of liberty; yet having lai out their blood and treasure upon the purchase, I do no see how they acted parsimoniously, because I can co ceive nothing more generous, than that of employing ou blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found hi meaning; our ancestors acted parsimoniously, becaus they spent only their own treasure for the good of thei posterity; whereas we squandered away the treasures o our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful and think it was done for the preservation of their liber ty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a lord chief justice, that, by enemies to our present establishment, Mr. Steele woul desire to be understood to mean, my lord treasurer an the rest of the ministry: by those who are grown su pine, in proportion to the danger to which our liberty i every day more exposed, I should guess he means th tories; and by honest men, who ought to look up with a

spirit that becomes honesty, he understands the whigs: I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet council, (except the Archbishop of Canterbury)* are "enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution, and are now practising indirect arts, and mean subtleties, to weaken the security of those acts of parliament, for settling the succession in the house of Hanover." The first, and most notorious of these criminals, is, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister: the second is, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the pretender: the third is, Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St. Germain: and to avoid tediousness, Mr. Bromley,† and the rest, are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions, which Mr. Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England, concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the queen, I cannot determine; who, by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to‡ the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust, should require, I think,

* Dr. Tenison. H.

Speaker of the House of Commons. H.

‡ It should be—'in compliance with,' &c. S.

at least one single overt act to make it good. If the be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown, wi out danger from the pretender, except among those w are called the whig party, the Hanover succession is th indeed in a very desperate state: that illustrious fam will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against and those principally of the landed interest; which most to be depended upon, in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I sh not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, t suppose he has gotten them fairly transcribed: I o think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of p liament, may have a very fair action against him for vasion of property: but this is none of my business inquire into.

After two and twenty pages spent in reciting acts parliament, he desires leave to repeat the history a progress of the union; upon which I have some few thi to observe.

This work, he tells us, was unsuccessfully attempt by several of her majesty's predecessors; although I not remember* it was ever thought on by any, exc King James the First, and the late King William. I h read indeed, that some small overtures were made by former of these princes toward a union between the t kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt the English: and the historian tells us, that how dege rate and corrupt soever the court and parliament t

* Dr. Hawkesworth has remarked, that the author's memory fa him a little in this assertion, as one of his answerers observed. the Dean had obviated this remark in a postscript to the aboven tioned Examiner, by acknowledging his mistake; and that he had t since told, "That some overtures were made to that end in reigns of other princes;" and complaining of some literal mist of the printer, particularly that pointed out in p. 199. N.

were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes before the revolution, ever resumed the design; because it was a project, for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity; for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a union.

But toward the end of the late king's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the Princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome, until some time after her present majesty came to the crown; when, by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves;* and so the union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable person† of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to

* See the Examiner, No. xx. H.

† Lord Somers. N.

me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wron management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the onl cause of the union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the au thor of the Crisis: first, that the union became necessar for the cause above related; because it prevented thi island from being governed by two kings; which Eng land would never have suffered; and it might probabl have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break thi union, at least in this juncture, while there is a pretend- er abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an op- portunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer, among some people, who, having been the great promoters of the union, and seve ral of them the principal gainers by it,* could yet pro- ceed so far as to propose in the house of lords, that i should be dissolved: while, at the same time, thos peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, wer then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just as signed, and which the author of the Crisis has likewis taken notice of.

But when he tells us, "the Englishmen ought, i generosity, to be more particularly careful in preservin this union," he argues like himself. "The late king dom of Scotland (says he) had as numerous a nobility a England," &c. They had indeed: and to that we ow one of the great and necessary evils of the union, upo

* The Duke of Argyll, who zealously promoted the union, th Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, having been de puted on purpose, remonstrated to the queen against the malt ta which they said would probably prompt the Scots to declare th union dissolved. The Earl of Finlater soon after moved the hous of lords for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union; he wa seconded by the Earl of Mar, and supported by Lord Eglinton, th Earl of Hay, the Duke of Argyll, and others. H.

the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct unto the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants, as she found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scotch peer has all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliaments, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the public, is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welch justice of peace; and have since gathered more money, than ever any Scotchman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the union act; which is, that the author of the Crisis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of high treason. In a paper of his called the Englishman, of October 29, there is an advertisement about

taking in subscriptions for printing the Crisis, where the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; [" and that no power on earth can bar, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele."] In his extract of an act of parliament made since the union, it appears to be high treason for any person by writing or printing to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and the government thereof. This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown confirmed at the union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those treasonable words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the advertisement; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself he only offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the union itself, and as the settlement of episcopacy in England, &c. And he thinks the Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted.

These I take to be only treasonable insinuations; but the advertisement before mentioned is actually high treason; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the queen is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the whigs of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected upon all occasions to allow the legitimacy of the pretender. This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all

the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's narrative: but it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the sucession in the house of Hanover be alterable or not. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he has wholly changed his mind. He tells us he wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation, which is practised in a much greater degree in other states: and how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line, which threaten it with destruction; while other nations never scruple, upon less occasions, to go much greater lengths; of which he produces instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own? How can a senator, capable of doing honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? "The author of the Conduct of the Allies (says he) has dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession." The author of the Conduct of the Allies writes sense and English; neither of which the author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks "it wrong in points of policy to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times." Now, if it be high treason to affirm, by writing, that the legislature has no such power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange that Britain

should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that in future ages, a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it has happened already?

When Mr. Steele "reflects upon the many solemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, &c. he thinks all fear vanishes before them." I think so too, providedt he epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a solemn day, a solemn feast, and a solemn coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a solemn barrier. However, be that as it will, his thoughts it seems will not let him rest, but, before he is aware, he asks himself several questions; and, since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, what are the marks of a lasting security? To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are, first, good laws; and, secondly, those laws well executed; we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, what are our tempers and our hearts at home? If by ours he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the queen; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge, by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour.—Thirdly, in what hands is power lodged abroad? To answer the question naturally, Lewis XIV. is king of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the whigs) is king of Spain, and so on. If by power he means money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a trunk to which his ambition has no key: and that is our security.—Fourthly, are our unnatural divisions our strength? I think not; but they are the sign of it, for being unnatural they cannot last; and this shows, that

union, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword? Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbours; or if our sword be as sharp as his is long; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare; or if such a sword happens to be in the hands of an infant, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too? If the powerful hand he means be that of France, it may reach out as many kings as it pleases; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What crowns or kingdoms has France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former king, in consequence of that infamous treaty of partition, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by her majesty of Great-Britain; so in effect was Sardinia. France indeed once reached out a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele's was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived? there may, for aught I know, be about a dozen; and those, in time, may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a day. If the pretender should fail, (says the writer) the French king has in his quiver a succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the dauphin her grandson. Let me suppose the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; the Duchess of Savoy will then be a pretender, and consequently must leave her husband, because his royal highness (for

Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her British majesty; her sons, when they grow pretenders, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the pretendership to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But "the Duke of Savoy did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popish successor." Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? must we give him opium to destroy his capacity? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the popish princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at? what is it they demand? Suppose the present dauphin were now a man, and the King of France, and next popish heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer; has not the queen as good a title to the crown of France? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the Kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the

hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his subjects, against such a popish pretender.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterward to say upon the subject of the pretender. Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours? In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that Ambition had removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to Faction, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

This much in answer to those eight uneasy questions put by the author to himself in order to satisfy every Briton, and give him an occasion of "taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular."

After enumerating the great actions of the confederate armies, under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the British "general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour." Ten years fruits, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruitfullest campaigns that ever any general cropped. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her majesty's glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whose sake

principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of their charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends: that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude, of which he will be able to produce several instances; that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government, in order to strengthen their faction; he will tell the reasons, why the general, and first minister, were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will show many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends; who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commission to be general for life;* wherein justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) advised the duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a commission. By these, and many other instances which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall, therefore, leave posterity to the information of better historians than the author of the Crisis, or myself; and go on to inform the present age, in some facts, which the great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent, with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormond's campaign, "after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France

* See the Examiner, No. XX, and the subsequent papers. H.

proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British troops, in the midst of the enemy's garrisons, withdrew themselves from their confederates." The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Strafford, to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had farther orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected: this, the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough; and therefore proposed to the duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the queen's measures toward a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing, either in the British general, or the Dutch deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Douay, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said they should never have another so good an opportunity; but monsieur ——, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal

in the Duke of Ormond to refuse fighting by express command of the queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal, without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the Queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

The emperor and the empire (says Mr. Steele by way of admiration) continue the war! Is his imperial majesty able to continue it or not? If he be, then Great Britain has been strangely used for ten years past. Then how came it to pass, that, of about ten thousand men in his service in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire, whom he is willing enough to expose, but not his own dominions. Besides, his Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the queen's death; which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the mean time, this appearance of the emperor's being forsaken by his ally, will serve to increase the clamour, both here and in Holland, against her majesty and those she employs.

Mr. Steele says, there can be no crime in affirming (if it be truth) that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for a universal monarchy, and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war.

No crime in affirming it, if it be truth. I will for once allow his proposition. But, if it be false, then I

affirm, that whoever advances so seditious a falsehood, deserves to be hanged. Does he mean by the house of Bourbon, the two Kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the whole foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods, without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the expense of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet, we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what has been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon, does he mean only the French king for the time being? If so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him, might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her majesty's subjects.

But the particular assertions of this author are easier detected* than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists? for, as to the queen, her majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffee-house, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. Steele affirms, that the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way. The governor of the town, and those

* It should be—'are easier to be detected;' or, 'are more easily detected,' &c. S.

gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her majesty employs, has been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him farther, that the demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those difficulties, which the barrier treaty has put us under; and the event has shown, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The mole and harbour could not be destroyed, until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him those just suspicions, that the mole and harbour will never be destroyed? What is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or, that the pretender is to invade us from thence; or, that the queen has entered into a conspiracy with her servants, to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any farther information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will in a short time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. Steele, nor his faction, will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard that the queen cannot be allowed to demolish this town, in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr. Steele must have it done in his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it in theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the most christian king to be a much better friend of her majesty's, than Mr. Steele, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to

be considered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two gentlemen born,* should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I will give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in demolishing at home than abroad.

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the emperor† overrunning Italy, than from France overrunning the empire; that his imperial majesty entertains such thoughts, is visible to the world: and although little can be said to justify many actions of the French king, yet the worst of them have never equalled the emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the golden bull, which oblige him to deliver up every fief that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago, by "the powerful hand, that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us." I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He has dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he has given leave to invade the empire next spring, with two hundred thousand men; and now at last he deals to France the imperial dignity; and so farewell liberty; Europe will be French. But, in order to bring all this about, the capital of Austria, the residence of his imperial majesty, must continue to be visited by the plague, of which the emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to deal out one sceptre in my turn, as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore deal out the em-

* Mr. Steele often styles himself so. H.

† It should be—'from the emperor's overrunning Italy, than from France's overrunning the empire.' S.

pire to the elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue to this emperor at his death: provided the whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist, to get an empire, as they did upon the father, to get a kingdom. Or, if this prince be not approved of, I deal it out in his stead to the elector of Bavaria: and in one or the other of these, I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Crisis.

The design of Mr. Steele, in representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe, is, to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery, by the corruption of her majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which, having during the war supplied us with gold in exchange for our woolen manufacture, has only at present a suspension of arms for its protection to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived; and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally, with the rest of Europe, into the gulf of France. In the mean time, let us see what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal has yet no more than a suspension of arms they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late, they may thank the whigs, whose false representations they were so weak as to believe. However, the queen has voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made; and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, "who can name the Catalonians without a tear?" That can I; for he has told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he has blunted the

edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians, is included in the following particulars; first, that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers; by which are understood England and Holland: but he is too good a friend of the Dutch, to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, that they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince. Thirdly, that they always opposed the person and interest of that prince, who is their present king. Lastly, that the doom is dreadful of those, who shall, in the sight of God, be esteemed their destroyers. And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to choose his informers. That the Catalonians were drawn into the war by the encouragement of her majesty, should not in decency have been affirmed, until about fifty years hence; when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken, by a most unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine, then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the queen, in order to ease the emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his imperial majesty should have liberty to evacu-

ate Catalonia; upon condition of absolute indemnity of the Catalans, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for, although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed that King Philip did not absolutely restore the Catalans to all their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West-Indies, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the queen reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the most christian king was obliged to second her: for, his catholic majesty intended no more than to retrench those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. How dreadful then must be the doom of those, who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince! and who, although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin, by promises of aid and protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr. Steele's account of the affairs of Europe, from which he deduces the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many popish successors to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We must observe," says he, "that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the French king in the late treaties, is the Duke of Savoy." Extremely right: for, whatever that

prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point, than that of allowing the duke such a barrier as the queen insisted on.

"He is become the most powerful prince in Italy." I had rather see him so than the emperor. "He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon." This is one of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all popish successors as far as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their longitude. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: he adds to our fears for being too near. So, whether France conquer Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it, either event will put us and Holland at the mercy of France, which has a quiver full of pretenders at its back, whenever the chevalier shall die.

This was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms,* "that treasonable books lately dispersed among

* This should be—'I cannot think it a misfortune, as Mr. Steele affirms,' &c. not, 'what Mr. Steele affirms,' which is not grammar. S.

us, striking apparently at the Hanover succession, hav passed almost without observation from the generality o the people;" because it seems a certain sign, that th generality of the people are well disposed to that illu trious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to se seditious books dispersed among us, apparently strikin at the queen and her administration, at the constitutio in church and state, and at all religion; yet passin without observation from the generality of those i power: but whether this remissness may be imputed t Whitehall, or Westminsterhall, is other men's busine to inquire. Mr. Steele knows in his conscience, th the Queries concerning the Pretender, issued from on of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring cle gyman, who was trusted with committing to the press late book on the subject of hereditary right, by a strai of a *summum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half score children, starving and rotting among thieves an pickpockets, in the common room of a stinking jail. I have never seen either the book or the publisher; how ever, I would fain ask one single person† in the world question; why he has so often drank the abdicate king's health upon his knees?—But the transition is n tural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for a answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr. Steel should take up the artificial reports of his own factio and then put them off upon the world, as additional fea of a popish successor. I can assure him, that no goo subject of the queen's is under the least concern, wheth the pretender be converted or not, farther than the wishes that all men would embrace the true religio

* Upon his conviction he was committed to the Marshalsea; a at his sentence, to the Queen's Bench for three years. H.

† Parker, afterward lord chancellor. See before, p. 196. N.

ut reporting backward and forward upon this point, lps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr. Steele enlarge himself upon, by showing how little we can pend upon such conversions, by collecting a list of pish cruelties, and repeating after himself and the shop of Sarum, the dismal effects likely to follow upon e return of that superstition among us.

But, as this writer is reported, by those who know m, to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and urage operating according to the weather in our unrtain climate, I am apt to believe the two last pages of Crisis were written on a sunshiny day. This I guess m the general tenor of them, and particularly from unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I , will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic rs of a popish successor. "As divided a people as we , those who stand for the house of Hanover are infiely superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts litary and civil, to those in the contrary interest; bee which, we have laws, I say, the laws on our side. e laws, I say, the laws." This elegant repetition is, hink, a little out of place; for the stress might better ve been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; hout which, I doubt the laws would be of little weight, hough they be very good additional securities. And what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although assert it (for I allow even the majority of his own ty to be against the pretender) there can be no dan· of a popish successor, except from the unreasonable lousies of the best among that party, and from the ma, the avarice, or ambition of the worst; without ich, Britain would be able to defend her succession inst all her enemies, both at home and abroad. Most he dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the sequences of this very bad peace made by the queen.

and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every popish relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the succession in the house of Hanover. This succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a security adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the pretender brought in, and popery established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man presides; a Crisis written by Mr. Steele; a confederacy of knavish stockjobbers to ruin credit; a report of the queen's death; an effigy of the pretender run twice through the body by a valiant peer; a speech by the author of the Crisis; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her majesty, and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgustful task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written three dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of one. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and entitled, "The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called," &c. He desired I would read it

over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal, I found it chiefly an invective against Toby, the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the queen, and the Post-boy; yet, at the same time, with great justice exclaiming against those, who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction, whom her majesty discarded. The author likewise proposes an equal division of favour and employments, between the whigs and tories; for, if the former "can have no part or portion in David,* they desire no longer to be his subjects." He insists, that her majesty has exactly followed Monsieur Tugghe's memorial against the demolishing of Dunkirk.† He reflects with great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the Crisis. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, &c.* He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, and consult his own quiet and happiness; and concludes with a letter to a friend at court. I suppose, by the style of "old friend," and the like, it must be some body there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are new converts from presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, for the satisfaction of himself, and other malecontents. First, the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. Secondly, that

* What portion have we in David? H.

† "Tugghe was deputed by the magistrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the queen, that she would recall part of her sentence concerning Dunkirk, by causing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to spare the moles and dykes, which in their naked condition could be no more than objects of pity." H.

Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorrain, and force the pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc. Lastly, "that his electoral highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he has with the court of England in as plain terms, as her majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house, on her part."

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. Steele, and his brother malecontents, must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report; or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether her majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorrain, to force him to remove the pretender; but I believe, if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the queen would move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a wish, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly charges her majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she has so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the articles of his birth, education, or fortune; for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never inquire whether he be *a gentleman born*, but whether he be *a human creature*.

SOME

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

ESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:

WITH

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

NSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

Both written in the year 1714.

success, retired to the house of a friend in Berkshire, an
them more. But during this retreat he wrote the follow
which he thought might be of some use even in that ju
sent it up to London to be printed; but, upon some
opinion between the author and the late Lord Bolingbro
lication was delayed till the queen's death, and then he
copy: it was afterwards placed in the hands of Alderm
from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of t
by this animosity among themselves, was long foreseen
by Swift, and it appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to
Wyndham, that in his heart he renounced his friendshi
long before the conclusion of the peace, though it did
till afterwards. "The peace," says he, "which had b
to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could
system, and yet when it was made we found ourselves
nay, the very work, which ought to have been the
strength, was in part demolished before our eyes, and we
with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the
the ministry visible; some principally endeavouring to s
selves, some, still labouring to establish at all events, the
had espoused, which saw nothing but "increase of m
and nearer approaches to ruin:" and it is not to be w
that, when this treatise was written, the Dean's attemp
cile his friends were unsuccessful; for Bolingbroke decla
abhorred Oxford to such a degree, that he would rather
ed banishment or death, than have taken measures in c
him to have avoided either. D. S.

SOME

FREE THOUGHTS, &c.

WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind, that the most plain, short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible, than one directly contrary to some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers, that politics were nothing but common sense; which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God has given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason, when it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages, who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event that they had ill consulted their own quiet, or the ease and happiness of their people; nor has posterity remembered them with honour: such as Lysander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the Sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, Queen Catharine de Medicis, Philip the Second of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers famed for men of deep intrigue,* whose politics have produced little

* This expression, '*famed for men* of deep intrigue,' is very inaccurate; it should be—'fam'd for *being* men,' &c. Or, 'famed *as* men of deep intrigue.' S.

more than murmurings, factions, and discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occasions in a state, where the talents of such men may be thought necessary; I mean in a state where the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects: first, in the negotiation of a peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our own country with those of the nations round us, watching the several motions of our neighbours and allies, and preserving a due balance among them: lastly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the first of these cases I have often heard it observed, that plain good sense, and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all those arts, which I remember a great foreign minister used in contempt to call the spirit of negotiating. In the second case, much wisdom, and a thorough knowledge in affairs both foreign and domestic, are certainly required: after which, I know no talents necessary beside method and skill in the common forms of business. In the last case, which is that of managing parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing this gift of the lower politics, whenever the tide runs high against the court and ministry; which seldom happens under any tolerable administration, while the true interest of the nation is pursued. But, here in England, (for I do not pretend to establish maxims of government in general) while the prince and ministry, the clergy, the majority of landed men, and the bulk of the people, appear to have the same views and the same principles, it is not obvious to me, how those at the helm can have many opportunities of showing their skill in mystery and refinement, beside what themselves think fit to create.

I have been assured by men long practised in business, that the secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose; and I hold it for the greatest secret of court, that they are so: because the first springs of great events, like those of great rivers, are often so mean and so little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore ministers are so wise to leave* their proceedings to be accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould them into systems, that do not only go down very well in the coffee house, but are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probably furnish materials for memoirs and historics in the next.

It is true, indeed, that even those who are very near the court, and are supposed to have a large share in the management of public matters, are apt to deduce wrong consequences, by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions, wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case, and asks your opinion, but conceals an essential circumstance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he despises your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even toward those with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence and concert: and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some masterstroke of his politics.

I could produce innumerable instances, from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakness, hu-

* It should be—'so wise *as* to leave,' &c. S.

mour, passion, or pride; or at best, but the natural course of things left to themselves.

During this very session of parliament, a most ingenious gentleman, who has much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that in the late dissentions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this he made use of the most plausible topics, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of her majesty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole with such an appearance of probability, as committed to writing would pass for an admirable piece of secret history. Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons, that the issue of those dissentions, as to the part they had in the court and the house of lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, whence, in that conjuncture, they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future.

In like manner I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small-pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of those who recovered, owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motives of some facts, and so easy to forget the circumstances of others, it is no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the public by curious inquisitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and, in reasoning upon affairs of state, are sure to be mistaken

by searching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, so I am sure it has been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to discover the causes of political events by refinement and conjecture; which I must acknowledge has very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii;* whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better.

What I have hitherto said, has by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requisite in those who are trusted with the administration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no station of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister has no virtue for which the public may not be the better; nor any defect, by which the public is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice, within four years past, an omission, in appearance very small, prove almost fatal to a whole scheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he has great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him: because likewise, too great an affectation of secrecy, is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements, which among the vulgar, denominate a man a great politician; but among others, is apt, whether deservedly or not, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent which differs as much from the true knowledge of

government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of mutiplying secrets, may not be carried on so far, as to stop that communication which is necessary, in some degree, among all who have any considerable part in the management of public affairs; because I have observed the inconveniences arising from a want of love between those who were to give directions, to have been of as ill consequence as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is sufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions; but the several master builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able minister, than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men; nor is any thing more to be lamented, than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree, under our present circumstances; while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote or their interest as dear as they can. But whether this has not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it has not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the inquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider, in some lights, the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics, and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the public another set of men who, by confession of their enemies, had

equal abilities at least with their predecessors; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation: and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship: with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge; neither does it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security: which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects.

Nothing has given me greater indignation, than to behold a ministry, who came in with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the house of lords, with a majority on their side; and instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, mispending their time, and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adversaries of the court, was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the ministers, or (if that was the case) the minister alone is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians, who in the cant phrase are called the *whimsicals*,* was never so nume-

* *Whimsicals*, were tories who had been eager for the conclusion of the peace till the treaties were perfected, then they could come up to no direct approbation; in the clamour raised about the danger

rous, or at least so active, as it has been since the great change at court; many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference, in those conjunctures whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the higher tories or churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments. I remember likewise, the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside of the court. Some supposed the queen was at first prevailed upon to make that great change with no other view, than that of acting for the future upon a moderating scheme, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others conceived the employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. This has since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined: and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all opposition from the

of the succession, they joined the whigs, and declared directly against their party, and affected in most other points a most glorious neutrality. See Bolingbroke's Letter to Wyndham, p. 48, 49.

As party man, who leaves the rest,
Is call'd but *whimsical* at best.

PRIOR, Alma, iii. 125. H.

other side; because, in the nature of things, it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction, already odious to the people, might be suffered to continue with less danger, than any new one that could arise. To confirm this it was said, that the majority in the house of commons was too great on the side of the high church, and began to form themselves into a body (by the name of the October club) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain that none of these excuses were able to pass among men, who argued only from the principles of general reason. For first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension, to be as visionary and impossible in the state as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves, as to see their enemies out, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: and it is urged farther, that this general ambition of hunting after places, grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises to all, who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in case the present faction were wholly subdued, was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the genius of politics; considering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed. Besides, the di-

vision of a house of commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry, who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart: as for the apprehension of too great a majority in the house of commons, it appeared to be so vain, that upon some points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October club, which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them. It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men, whom the former ministry left in possession of employments, were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice; beside that the plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the score of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher at court: so that this last excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plausibility, but less truth, than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or actions of the present ministry: their safety and interests are visibly united with those of the public, they are persons of unquestionable abilities, altogether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be farther recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction. However, it is manifest that the zeal of their friends has been cooling toward them for above two years past: they have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near

giving up in despair: their characters have been often treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice, in both houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators; while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry may have given for this coldness, inconstancy, and discontent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings, and suspicions, which have run so freely for three years past, concerning the designs of the court: I do not only mean such conjectures, as are born in a coffee-house, or invented by the malice of a party; but also the conclusions (however mistaken) of wise and good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand the reason of public proceedings, and in whose power it lay to recommend or disgrace an administration to the people. I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to all stations; and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully nor wisely, without that share of it which properly belongs to him: although the main spring of a watch be out of sight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed. This reserved mysterious way of acting, upon points where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and toward persons, who, at least in right of their posts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of. Those who pro-

fessed the height of what is called the church principle, suspected, that a comprehension was intended, wherein the moderate men on both sides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded such a comprehension, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play. Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, especially of late, surmised on the contrary, that the demands of the house of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the —— or ——. Now, although these accusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popularity, of which those at the helm stood in need, to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addition of public debts, and an exhausted treasury.

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here: for, the late dissentions between the great men at court (which have been, for some time past, the public entertainment of every coffee-house) are said to have arisen from the same fountain; while, on one side very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other,* if we may believe general report (for I pretend to know no farther) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and

* Lord Oxford's reserve was the cause of Bolingbroke's resentment. H.

probably of a most gracious princess, who had intrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gun-shot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends and loss of reputation have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined: and their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations.

It may seem very impertinent in one of my level, to point out to those, who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible, how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understandings; to a degree, that, in any other science, would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said will be to no purpose.

The general wishes and desires of a people, are perhaps more obvious to other men than to ministers of state. There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers, and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which she condemns; all schisms, sects, and heresies discountenanced, and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her

secret adversaries, under the names of whigs, low church, republicans, moderate-men, and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which has been able, ever since, with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours: I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject. But I shall not argue that matter at present: I suppose, if a man think it necessary to play with a serpent, he will choose one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least in this juncture: first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state: secondly, because they are highly irritated with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can suggest: but principally, because they have prevailed, by misrepresentations, and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust: upon which account they cannot be too soon, or too much disabled; neither will England ever be safe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their strength and interests shall be so far reduced, that for the future it shall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to choose an ill majority in the house of commons.

One step very necessary to this great work will be, to regulate the army, and chiefly those troops which, in their turns, have the care of her majesty's person; who are most of them fitter to guard a prince under a high court of justice, than seated on the throne. The peculiar hand of Providence has hitherto preserved her majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but since religion teaches us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those, who, by their public behaviour and discourse, discover their impatience to see it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the instruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It should be well remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to express upon the queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threatenings they used of refusing to obey their general, in case that illness had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries. In the mean time it must be a very melancholy prospect, that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto, composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them.

The other point of great importance is, the security of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover: not from any partiality to that illustrious house, farther than as it has had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the nearest branch of our regal

line reformed from popery. This point has one advantage over the former, that both parties profess to desire the same blessing for posterity, but differ about the means of securing it. Whence it has come to pass, that the protestant succession, in appearance the desire of the whole nation, has proved the greatest topic of slander, jealousy, suspicion, and discontent.

I have been so curious to ask* several acquaintances among the opposite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favour of the pretender, or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative: others were of the same opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that, during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to show a dislike to the present settlement; although they would sometimes lament, that the false representations of theirs, and the kingdom's enemies, had made some impressions in the mind of the successor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm, that, excepting those who are nonjurors by profession, I have not met with above two persons who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of those, who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the

* It should be—'so curious *as* to ask.' S.

throne, is altogether inconsiderable. And farther, I believe it will be found, that there are none who so much dread any attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the Roman Catholics of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his entrance by a French army, and a field of blood; who must continue upon the same foot, if he changes his religion, and must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers, if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages: the vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents, and their bigoted counsellors; who took special care, against all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful superstition, sucked in with his milk, and confirmed in his manhood, too strongly to be now shaken by Mr. Lesley; and a counterfeit conversion will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom, after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said to be of weak intellectuals, and an unsound constitution: he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition: he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle: his father's friends are most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almost past since the revolution, and the bulk of those who are now most in action either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the highest tories is now, that this was the establishment they found, as soon as they arrived at a capacity of judging; that they had

no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore had no crime to answer for, if it were any: that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: that they will no more dispute King William the Third's title than King William the First's; since they must have recourse to history for both: that they have been instructed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover, and must in their own opinion renounce all those doctrines by setting up any other title to the crown. This, I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call revolution principles.

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgotten, that during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens, by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence.

From all these considerations I must therefore lay it down as an incontestable truth, that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover, is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by the oaths of all those who are intrusted with any office, by the very principles of those who are term-

ed the high church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificancy of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect either from princes abroad, or adherents at home.

However, since the virulent opposers of the queen and her administration have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly messengers from thence, as to make the elector desire some farther security, and send over a memorial here to that end: the great question is, how to give reasonable satisfaction to his highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time consult the honour and safety of the queen, whose quiet possession is of much more consequence to us of the present age, than his reversion. The substance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is, to desire that some one of his family might live in England, with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the royal blood, and that certain titles should be conferred upon the rest, according to ancient custom. The memorial does not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here; and if it had, I believe, however, her majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice.

But, as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir; so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr. Steele) expect, that her majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future; no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of visits, or demands of writs,* where she has not thought fit to give

* Baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, demanded a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers as Duke of Cambridge; and it was expected that his highness would have made a visit to the court of London. H.

any invitation. The nation would likewise expect, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court and the leaders of a party here; and that his electoral highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all her majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions to his request: that he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but especially of that party which, under the pretence or shelter of his protection, has so long disquieted the kingdom: and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought themselves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles, and the professions of the low church party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who were represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances, were in possession of all the power, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the pretender; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament. Not to mention, that the queen herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This, one would think, might be a strength sufficient not only to obstruct, but to bestow a succession: and since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights, it must therefore

surely have been worth his while, to have made at least one step toward cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession. Neither could those, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why might not the reasons of this proceeding in the elector, be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highness is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation. That these are, therefore, the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the others, from a true notion he has of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs, and persons, by their opinions.

But to return from this digression: the presence of that infant prince* among us, could not, I think, in any sort be inconsistent with the safety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives

* The infant prince was the son of the electoral prince of Hanover, who might be chosen to reside here in consequence of the memorial. H.

to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or behaviour: nor would there be any occasion of insinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented, than the antechamber of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of government, each so very different from those he would leave behind. By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive her majesty.

The late King William, who, after his marriage with the Lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband (the Duke of York having a young wife) was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princess; which I observe the rather, because I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter.

An illnatured or inquisitive man may still, perhaps, desire to press the question farther, by asking, what is to be done, in case it should so happen, that this malevolent working party at home, has credit enough with the court of Hanover, to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there, against the queen and her ministry; to make such demands be still insisted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean time to stand at arm's length with her majesty, and in close conjunction with those who oppose her.

I take the answer to be easy: in all contests, the safest way is to put those we dispute with, as much in the wrong as we can. When her majesty shall have offered such, or the like concessions, as I have abovementioned,

in order to remove those scruples artificially raised in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled; she has done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her case; and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those, who now side against the court, will probably be more temperate; and if a due despatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expense of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: and because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing, once for all, as far as possible, that the elector should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of confidence with the present ministry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession; nor easy with the queen herself, but upon such conditions as will not be thought consistent with her safety and honour; and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented party: I think it were humbly to be wished, that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince, should be made by himself, and not by his deputies: because I am of opinion, that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, additional to the seven regents named in the act, went upon a suppo-

sition, that the secret committee would be of such, whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them to confound the rest. King William, whose title was much more controverted than that of her majesty's successor can ever probably be, did, for several years, leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of lords justices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion: whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demise of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an absence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason, why a power was given of choosing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over any of the family here, during her majesty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the elector can use to insist upon both.

To conclude; the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government; and if this be not speedily done, it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame: for we are well assured, that since the account her majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction, during her late illness at Windsor, she has been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do mischief, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire.

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AUGUST 9, 1714.

IN order to set in a clear light, what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation, with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done, without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority, that the Duchess of Marlborough's favour began to decline very soon after the queen's accession to the throne, and that the Earl of Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power, until a long time after.

The Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons not seasonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign) they made large steps that way upon the death of the Prince of Denmark, taking several among,

the warmest leaders of that side into the chief employments of state. Mr. Harley, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation; and about the same time, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. St. John, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. Harley, (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her) was deprived of his service with some regret: and upon that, and other motives well known at court, began to think herself hardly used; and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that her majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Meantime the church party were loud in their complaints; surmising, from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental test, from the avowed principles and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill designs were forming against the religion established. These fears were all confirmed by the trial of Sacheverell; which drew the populace, as one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious that the queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr. Harley, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: for the Earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kensington, the earl, a few hours after, reproached the queen, that she privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not, without some difficulty, undeceived by her majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs. Masham,

ras brought up the back stairs; and that princess, spirit-
d by the addresses from all parts, which showed the in-
linations of her subjects to be very averse from the pro-
eedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break
he united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin fa-
nilies, and to begin this work by taking the disposal of
mployments into her own hands: for which an opportu-
nity happened by the death of the Earl of Essex, Lieu-
enant of the Tower: whose employment was given to
he Earl Rivers, to the great discontent of the Duke of
Marlborough, who intended it for the Duke of Northum-
berland, then Colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which
he Earl of Hertford was to succeed. Some time after,
he chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the Duke of
Shrewsbury, in the absence, and without the privity, of
he Earl of Godolphin. The Earl of Sunderland's re-
noval followed; and lastly, that of the high treasurer
himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof
Mr. Harley (made at the same time chancellor of the
exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other re-
novals, which are well enough known and remembered:
et it suffice, that in eight or nine months time the whole
face of the court was altered, and very few friends of
he former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reasons to be assured, that when the queen
began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far
as the church party expected, and have since been so
impatient to see. For, although she was a true profes-
sor of the religion established, yet the first motives to
this alteration did not arise from any dangers she appre-
hended to that, or the government; but from a desire to
get out of the dominion of some, who, she thought, had
kept her too much and too long in pupillage. She was
in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet
upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And

when she had got rid of those who had, as she thought, given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which, her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her, to go as far as they thought fit. That these were her majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loath to part with two great officers of state of the other party: and some, whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures, and inclined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon the rock where his predecessors had split. But violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the commons, pressed for a thorough change; and so did almost all the queen's new servants, especially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high treasurer. He could not, in good policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress. And as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the dis-

contented party, he fell in with the queen's humour; he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity; and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not so easy to grapple with,* might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore, was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the whig party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred, than all the rest of the ministry together.

* This should be—'not so easily to be grappled with,' &c. S.

MEMOIRS,

RELATING TO THAT CHANGE WHICH HAPPENED IN THE QUEEN'S MINISTRY IN THE YEAR 1710.

Written in October, 1714.

Many particulars in these Memoirs are remarkably confirmed by a publication in which the reader would the least expect them, in "An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, from her first coming to court, to the year 1710, in a letter from herself, to my Lord ——;" printed in 1742. N.

MEMOIRS, &c.

HAVING continued for near the space of four years in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out by my friends, as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both houses of parliament; and this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management of intrigue at home; I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or not, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints, or journals of every material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were

such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons, why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity, which usually possesses men, during their first acquaintance at courts; and like the masters of a puppet show, they despise those motions, which fill common spectators with wonder and delight. However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed; I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period, more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or whence more useful instructions may be gathered, for directing the conduct of those who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that upon occasion I sometimes make mention of myself; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction then out of power were pleased, in both houses of parliament, to take every opportunity of showing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is, to satisfy my particular friends; and at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure

than other memoirs, published for many years past, in English, French, and Italian. The period of time I design to treat on will commence with September 1710; from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in Ireland.

But, because the great change of employments in her majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. Sacheverell's trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in Ireland; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, the Lady Masham, and Doctor Atterbury, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the Earl of Oxford, then lord treasurer, and my Lady Masham, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage during that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets; but from a sincere honest design of justifying the queen, in the measures she then took, and afterwards pursued, against a load of scandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the queen could not live many years: and it was sufficiently known what party was most in the good graces of the successor, and consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her majesty's proceedings, under a reign, were directly contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen, than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing

the Duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had, in all appearance, so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure, toward the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed and so highly trusted; and all this, by the private intrigues of a woman of her bedchamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part, only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of, with great freedom, both to the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Masham, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction; to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My Lady Masham did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the queen of my request; which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear, upon all occasions, as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be. But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the Earl of Oxford, did, in some sort, infect every one who had credit or business in the court: for, after soliciting near four years to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was, to write her majesty's reign; and that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of which I

might be sure to be deprived upon the queen's death. This negligence in the queen, the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Masham, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverell; my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me: but what I remember I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the Duchess of Marlborough had lost all favour with her, as her majesty has often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress while she was princess; which her majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low as to observe, in her domestics of either sex who came into her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable at certain times. The duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour; the continuance of which was the more offensive to her majesty, whose other servants,* of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.

The Earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that

* 'Was *the more* offensive to her majesty, whose other servants,' &c. This is ungrammatical; it should be—'was *the more* offensive to her majesty, as her other servants,' &c. S.

lord. The duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her; which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing whence they originally came: and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of Marlborough she was wholly indifferent, (as her nature in general prompted her to be) until his restless impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and, farther than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself: she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done, till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; which spread in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of Hertford, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her majesty. This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy: for, although she had been strict-

ly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her, were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon,* by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands. The deportment of the Duchess of Marlborough, while the prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the queen, then in the height of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs. Masham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince George's death. This prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the queen his wife to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, signified her pleasure to the Duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. But the queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the Earl of Godolphin, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. St. John carried a letter from her

* 'Were making daily encroachments *upon*,' &c. This mode of separating the preposition from the word to which it belongs, and placing it at the end of a sentence, is a bad arrangement, and should be avoided as much as possible. How much better would the sentence run by restoring it to its proper place; as thus—'*Upon* which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments, by their undutiful behaviour,' &c. S.

majesty to the Duke of Marlborough, signifying her resolution to take the staff from the Earl of Godolphin, and that she expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr. St. John about it: but the account Mr. Harley and he gave me was, that the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect toward the church: that a meeting was appointed for completing this work: that in the mean time, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the queen, to turn Mr. Harley (who was then secretary of state) and all his friends, out of their employments: that the queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr. Harley's integrity and abilities, would not consent; and was determined to remove the Earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the Duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders; and the very night in which Mr. Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the Earl of Godolphin, George Churchill the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highness, "that the duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr. Harley and his friends were suffered to continue in." The prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the queen; and the time and service pressing, her majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment; and the next morning, the duke, at his levee, said aloud in a careless man-

ner, to those who stood round him, "that Mr. Harley was turned out."*

Upon the prince's death, November 1708, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord Somers was made president of the council, the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember some months before his highness's death, my Lord Somers, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me, with great freedom, of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil which my Lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by persuading the queen to pass the *Scotch act of security*. But to return from this digression.

* "Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the queen, in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service, while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Her majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him; till at length those two lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him; and they absented themselves from the council." *Account*, &c. p. 212. N.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of low church measures; and although, in the house of commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the duchess, made that bold attempt, of desiring the queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, "That she would take time to consider it;" and in the mean while, the duke advised with the Lord Cowper, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested, "he would never put the great seal to such a commission." But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke; and talked to a person whom she had taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of Argyle, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the Duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal, I was told, he suddenly answered, "That her majesty need not be

in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive."

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverell,* which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the Earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my Lord Somers, a few months after, confessed to me; and at the same time, that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows; and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Masham, privately brought to the queen; and, in some meetings, easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. Harley was able to procure this private access to the queen; the Duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no other-

* Whom the Duchess of Marlborough describes as "an ignorant, impudent incendiary; a man who was the scorn even of those who made use of him as a tool." *Account*, &c. p. 247.—Bishop Burnet says, "He was a bold insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense; but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment, by the most petulant railings at Dissenters and Low-church men, in several sermons and libels, wrote without either chasteness of style or liveliness of expression." *History*, vol. iii. p. 277.—Of his famous sermon, it is said, forty thousand copies were soon sold. N.

wise worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr. Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near Kensington gate. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. Harley, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced, by her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr. Harley to have private interviews: neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs. Masham, in right of her station in the bedchamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr. Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger. He read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing. He sent for the messenger, who said, "he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under gardener," I forget whether of Hampton Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under: blaming him for "not speaking with more freedom and more particularly; and desiring his assistance." With this encouragement, he went more frequently, although still as private as possible,* to the back stairs;

* 'As *private* as possible,' &c. It should be 'as *privately* as possible.' S.

and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants: "That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, by taking the disposition of employments* into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a slave to a party, but to reward those who may deserve, by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the high church or low church." In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which, however, made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her majesty, pursuant to Mr. Harley's advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened, by the death of the Earl of Essex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr. Harley, that the Earl Rivers should go immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and desire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that post. The

* 'The *disposition* of employments,' &c. This word is not used in that sense; it ought to be, 'the *disposal* of employments.' S.

earl went accordingly; was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the duke, who said, "The lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his lordship's acceptance;" and desired him to think of something else. The earl still insisted, and the duke still continued to put him off; at length, Lord Rivers desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the queen; and hoped he might tell her majesty, "his grace had no objection to him." All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the Duke of Marlborough, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, "The lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of Essex, he hoped her majesty would bestow it upon the Duke of Northumberland,* and give the Oxford regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the Earl of Hertford." The queen said, "He was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl Rivers, who had told her, that he [the duke] had no objection to him." The duke, much surprised at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of Kent was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury, while the Earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket. His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a

* George Fitzroy, third natural son of King Charles II.; created Duke of Northumberland, April 6, 1682. He died June 28, 1716. N.

countenance to the Duke of Shrewsbury as he was capable of.* The circumstances of the Earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reasons alleged, are known enough.† His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her majesty's person.

Meantime both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the queen began to stop her hand, and the church party to despond. At the same time, the Duke of Shrewsbury happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility. The Earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me: but, by G—d, I will have his head." But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the Earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it.‡ The treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl Poulett at the head; but Mr. Harley, who was one of the number, and

* A very extraordinary letter on this occasion, from the Earl of Godolphin to her majesty, is printed in the *Account*, &c. p. 248. N.

† Both the Duke and the Duchess of Marlborough exerted their utmost interest with the queen, to prevent this removal of their son-in-law Lord Sunderland, but without effect. See *Account*, &c. p. 253. N.

‡ "The letter was sent by no worthier a messenger than a man in livery, to be left with his lordship's porter: a proceeding which in all its parts would remain very unaccountable, if the queen herself had not, to those who expostulated with her, made this undoubtedly true declaration, *that she was sorry for it, but could not help it.*" Account, &c. p. 260. N.

at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.*

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immediately desired and obtained leave to come for England; leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King William's death; when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords who were then impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the house of commons, I happened to say, "That the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in Ireland, had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome: and that it might be easy to prove it from history." Soon after I went to London; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of "The Contests and Dissentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the consequences they had upon both those States." This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal

* The Duchess of Marlborough has exhibited a most severely striking portrait of this distinguished statesman, p. 281.—It is well known, however, that her grace was assisted by the nervous pen of Mr. Hooke. N.

the author, and returned immediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged some time upon my Lord Somers, and some time upon the Bishop of Salisbury; the latter of whom told me afterward, "that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened."

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: upon which, my Lords Somers and Halifax, as well as the bishop abovementioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness—not to mention the Earl of Sunderland, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the king; and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord Halifax, and was as often with Lord Somers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myself with the differences between the principles of whig and tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and I think, much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with Lord Somers; told him, "that, having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they call a whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to, the revolution; but, as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore

the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise: that I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some lords of the high church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: that I had likewise observed how the whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but showed much ill will and contempt for the order in general: that I knew it was necessary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of protestants to be members of their body: that I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: and that, I doubted, his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this."

My Lord Somers, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my Lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner) can very well remember: and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, "that both their lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon occasion, call to mind what I had said to them five years before."

In my journeys to England, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, until the time of Prince George's death; when the queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord Somers president

of the council, and the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some bishops of Ireland, to solicit the Earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord Somers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and presented me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, showing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of Lord Somers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in Leicestershire, went to Ireland; and immediately upon my landing, retired to my country parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him Lord Somers's letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant entreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieute-

nant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary, Mr. Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance. Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me; which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself, it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to show their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low party: whereas it has been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken; for instance, "A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Countess of Berkeley;" "The Sentiments of a Church of England man;" "An Argument against abolishing Christianity;" and lastly, "A Letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland," which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the Earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffee-houses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of August, 1710, I went for England, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in London, the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, which had been many years

solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr. Harley, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, "that he and his friends had long expected my arrival;" and, upon showing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it; which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promise for a farther and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully despatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and in my own; and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, "He and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and that my personal esteem for several among them, would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: That the queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings of the new ministers." Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, "That this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle to pursue it;" and concluded, "That it should be his particular care, to establish me here in England, and

represent me to the queen as a person they could not be without."

I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months. To which he replied, "He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me."

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. Secretary St. John, since Lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since Bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c.; were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr. Harley's custom, every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord Keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Secretary St. John, and myself; and here, after dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterward, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Or-

mond, Shrewsbury, and Argyll; the Earls of Anglesey,* Dartmouth, and Poulett; the Lord Berkeley, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence, and ended only in drinking and general conversation: of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. Harley, even before he was lord treasurer; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterward grew up so high! The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment; and some, particularly the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Cholmondeley, in great stations at court. They could not believe Mr. Harley was in earnest; but that he designed to constitute a motley comprehensive administration, which, they said, the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr. Harley, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr. Harley. However I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued

* John Annesley, Earl of Anglesey, made vice-treasurer and paymaster of her majesty's forces in Ireland, in the room of Lord Coningsby, in July 1710. He died on the 19th of the following September. N

a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topics among statesman. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me farther than to assure me very solemnly, "That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy."

However, these over moderate proceedings in the court, gave rise to a party in the house of commons, which appeared under the name of the October Club; a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who professed, in the greatest degree, what was called the high church principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the house, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict inquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr. Harley, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures: which he did by that very obvious contrivance, of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the October Club were their friends, and acted by their directions: to confirm

which, Mr. Secretary St. John and Mr. Bromley, afterward chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterward meet under the denomination of the March Club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom: for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr. Harley's politics, who was said to avoid an over great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures; and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, that of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose in the matter of elections, was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared, upon some exigencies which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once likely to fail for want of numbers. Mr. Harley, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points: first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and secondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods

he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work:* I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the house of commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the Marquis de Guiscard, while he was sitting in the council chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the marquis, upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with France.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. Harley's order, upon the eighth of March, 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with France. Upon his denial, Mr. Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprise of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr. Harley, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis;* the penknife, striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle; which Guiscard still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described.† The result

* In the History of the Four Last Years, &c. N.

† '*Is easier* conceived,' &c. This use of the adjective instead of the adverb, is not allowable; it should be—'is *more easily* conceived,' &c. S.

was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or that being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after. But Mr. Harley, after a long illness, and frequent ill symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of Namur. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: as to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his French correspondence; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, "that I wondered to see Guiscard pass so often by, without taking notice of me." But although in the latter part of his life his countenance grew cloudy enough; yet, I confess, I never suspected him to be a man of resolution or courage sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, which afterward had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. St. John affected to say in several companies, "that Guiscard intended the blow against him;" which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr. St. John

had all the merit, while Mr. Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. St. John was either mistaken or misinformed. However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the Examiner; which Mr. St. John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. St. John; and perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. Harley. Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. St. John did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. Harley's death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And I remember very well, that upon visiting Mr. Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. St. John; enough to make me apprehend that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. Harley, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treasurer; and the lord keeper, a baron.

INQUIRY

INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE

QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

WITH RELATION TO THEIR QUARRELS AMONG THEMSELVES, AND THE DESIGN CHARGED UPON THEM OF ALTERING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

Written in June, 1715.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE

QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY.

SINCE the death of the queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations: besides, the scene and station I am in, have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former, I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified, both by nature and education.

The reading of, and inquiring after news, not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great distance from the seat of business, I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between peo-

ple of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood, by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most men's opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconcilement between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the Earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: and I was told, that an earldom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this account from some of his friends. But all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed,

would be determined to those, who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: and I think, there has not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the disposition of the court at Hanover, in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and now it is done it looks like a dream, to those who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well; and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those, who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history; although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which, however, could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason; and therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that

when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen, his mistress, he committed those faults, for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen, for his sovereign, King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life; yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill nature, without any strain of philosophy: and although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflections in morality, yet such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may perhaps be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend, whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined myself to, should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof, God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But the fashion of this world passeth away. Having already said something of the Duke of Ormond, I shall add a little toward the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world, with so many advantages of nature and fortune,

as the late secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men: a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study; the latter of which, he seldom omitted even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did, for some time, to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at, in a man of his temper, was, his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which

he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men of both parties have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till toward the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former; whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy, when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to

pour out their scurrilities against me; which, he thought, was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met with; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office, I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause; his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion, by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in

conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better; of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he has seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay; which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched, than his sovereign and he, upon that article: and therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It

may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass, that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniences and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appears so many examples both ancient and modern, and of our own, as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the case of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio, and others; and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, has made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities: otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age

will hardly produce above three or four in a nati among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are worst educated, have twenty millions to one aga them that they shall not be of the number; and proj tionable odds, for the same reasons, are against ev one of noble birth, or great estates.

Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, anc and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, persons qualified for administration. But I take the felicity of such extraordinary men, to have been cau by their neglect of common forms, together with contempt of little helps and little hindrances; whic made, by Hobbes, the definition of magnanimity: this contempt, as it certainly displeases the peopl general, so it gives offence to all with whom such mi ters have to deal: for I never yet knew a minister, was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that art of government was a most profound science; wh as, it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, ho ty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. therefore men thus qualified, may very reasonably justly think, that the business of the world is l brought about by regularity and forms, wherein th selves excel. For I have frequently observed n causes of discontent arise, from the practice of some fined ministers, to act* in common business out of common road, than from all the usual topics of disp sure against men in power. It is the same thing in o scenes of life, and among all societies or communit where no men are better trusted, or have more suc in business, than those, who, with some honesty, an moderate portion of understanding, are strict obser

* 'From the practice of some refined ministers, to act,' &c. F the practice *to act*—is not English; it should be—'from the prac *of acting*,' &c. S.

time, place, and method: and on the contrary, ›thing is more apt to expose men to the censure and ›loquy of their colleagues and the public, than a con- mpt or neglect of these circumstances, however attend- l with a superior genius and an equal desire of doing ›od: which has made me sometimes say, to a great ›rson of this latter character, that a small infusion of .e alderman was necessary to those who are employed . public affairs. Upon this occasion, I cannot forget a ery trifling instance: that one day, observing the ıme person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, ıe sharpness of the instrument occasioned its moving so ·regularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; hereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, ho performed that operation much better with a blunt iece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and steady hand, never failed to go right.

But to return from this long digression; about a ›rtnight after the queen's death, I came to my place of esidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat ›nough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; ınd soon learned, that what they objected was the gene- ·al sense of the rest. Those of the church side made ne a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inac- ivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with ›ach other for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing he interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the Earl of Oxford: "that he had acted a trimming part; was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party: that either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities

of strengthening the church's friends: that he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers." Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishoprics undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission, the church-interest of that kingdom in the house of lords is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the pretender; and mentioned with pleasure the glorious opportunity then in his majesty's hands, of putting an end to party distinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness, was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers, and men in hopes by the queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different style: they all directly asserted, "that the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the pretender," although they would sometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late queen herself. "That, if her majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable." But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) things were not ripe. "That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noonday to all the world." And the consequences naturally following from these positions, were, "that the leaders ought to lose their

heads, and all their abettors be utterly stripped of power and favour."

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature, it may, perhaps, be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends, for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions: and secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several treatises, of which the one is a History,* and the other, Memoirs† of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light at present; because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and therefore intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen some years hence to read the History I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it, were not drawn with the least mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice; for I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed has it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice; because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity; and I knew a certain lord,‡ not long since dead, who, I

* Of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne. D. S.

† Relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710. D. S.

‡ Earl of Wharton. D. S.

am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an Atticus or a Catiline.

However, being firmly resolved, for very material reasons, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power, I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes.* It was the issue of Dr. Sacheverell's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no farther than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation against the parliament, that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the queen in council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her, as I was particularly informed by my Lord Somers then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those, who knew her best, thought to

be real, especially Lord Somers and Lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church party was returned, without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then minister) from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the queen expected or desired. She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from until half a year before her death: but this, neither the house of commons, nor the kingdom in general, were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since: several country members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastic name of the October Club. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, "That he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by

letting expectation lie in common;" for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him. His answer was short and cold: "That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and queen were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden." I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the queen his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and from the opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would venture to prophesy, that, however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their side: then it

happened, that the public good, and their private interest, had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that does not always fall to the share of men in power. But, principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district; so that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounces court friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives." But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes, their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper called the Examiner, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, "That the French assassin confessed, he at first intended to have murdered Mr. Secretary St. John; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other." Whether the secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn: but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair decision, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which, although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet

and ease, than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather, because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr. Harley should die; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler) "That if Mr. Harley's accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: That as to himself, he was not master of the scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under." However, not to be over particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr. Harley's confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put farther difficulties in his way. The queen having

thought fit to take the key from the Duchess of Marlborough, it was, after some time, given to another great lady,* wholly in the interest of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light, I shall only observe, that as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were indeed used to divert her majesty from this choice: but she continued steady, and pleaded, "That, if she might not have liberty to choose her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry." And so little was her heart set upon what they call a high church or tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote in the house of lords, against any peace while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice: and by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious. That lord attended according-

* The Duchess of Marlborough was groom of the stole, had the robes, and the privy purse. The Duchess of Somerset succeeded to the two first of these employments, and Mrs. Masham to the last. N.

ly; but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterward owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person in high station among her domestics, who, that day, in her presence, had shown his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark* of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to: and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons very near her majesty had not given assurances, where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen; which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her: "That the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of Spain should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had hitherto been vainly endeavoured either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burden and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expedients might possibly be found, for preventing France and Spain from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was, to put her majesty under the necessity

* The Duke of Somerset had the honour to lead out the queen. N.

of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside; and this, by sacrificing her present servants, to the rage and vengeance of the former;" with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient that her own coldness, or the treasurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice, had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the house of lords. I confess, that in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that if this were the treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some farther views, than that of avoiding the consequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that from the time of the revolution, to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually turned toward those, who, in the party term, are called whigs, or the low church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the bishops' bench almost wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men, still retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeded so well as to leave the court side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's succeeding to the crown, the church party, who seemed to have grown more nu-

merous under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes that her majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And indeed upon that foot things stood for some time: but, a new war being resolved on, three persons, who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be at least as high principled as could possibly consist with the protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history abovementioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low-church ministry, which continued for several years: till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame (whether justly or not) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; her majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against the minister says, by the basest insinuations; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute: although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady,* upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular

* Mrs. Masham. D. S.

fact, wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a house of commons.

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation outnumbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the house of lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of England cannot go on while the two houses of parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church men; one of these two things was of necessity to be done: either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the whig stamp, by force of a prodigious expense, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: or else, to turn the balance in the house of lords; which, after the success of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong, yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed, for preserving his cause, his friends,

and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management: but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction, they had so lately got rid of. And I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to take the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for farther changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the queen had no dislike at all to the other party (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) farther than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war; to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end, as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, he would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant or other instrument to her, already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to *reckon* upon her consent beforehand, she would not;

and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. Secretary St. John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the house of commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps toward it; which he accordingly did, with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family lately extinct, though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant; and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, "that, making him a viscount, would be but rigorous justice; and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour." But the queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much at that time in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the Earl of Oxford; and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the Earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any farther commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly

innocent in this point, as both himself and Lady Masham then protested to me, yet my Lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men, began to split the court into parties. Harcourt lord chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, Sir William Wyndham, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters, or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude; although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting, which the state of affairs at that time could very ill admit, and must have rendered the Earl of Oxford inexcusable, if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents, wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My Lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness. And upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find,

and lament, the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault in his whole ministry was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident that this alteration in the queen's temper toward the Earl of Oxford, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr. Sacheverell's trial, my Lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point; and it was by her intervention Mr. Harley was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress; which, I believe, the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement; because it was early known to all who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My Lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship; and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen her mistress: talents as seldom found or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: so that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldness between this lady

and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive at, the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object;* and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk, in the only domestic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider; which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff: but this her majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas, 1713. It was confidently reported in town that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately despatched, with an account of the queen's illness, to the treasurer, who was then in town; and in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face; and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to

* The Duchess of Somerset. D. S.

be conceived: upon which, the treasurer said to me, "Whenever any thing ails the queen these people are out of their wits; and yet they are so thoughtless, that as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might with justice be applied to himself.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders during her illness. It was indeed an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties who then attended her majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests; and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She therefore determined to fall into all just and proper methods that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections or difficulties that the Earl of Oxford would make. I had for some time endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general,* by telling both

* The Duke of Ormond. D. S.

of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter, of what advantage such a union must be to her majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the pretender, not without many gross expressions against the queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered, under the present powers: which proceeding, beside the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffee-houses and gaining ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The Duke of Ormond desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: and I cannot but say, that having often, at the duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it. But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the Duke of Ormond, and mentioning

some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, "He knew not why he should do other people's work." The truth is, that, except the duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr. Secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left, of any consequence, in her majesty's service. The lord chancellor,* Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the Bishop of Rochester† and some others. Dartmouth, then privy-seal, and Poulett, lord steward, stood neuters. The Duke of Shrewsbury hated the treasurer; but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland, acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the Earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the queen's favour toward him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff: which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the house of lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a farther change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majesty's service, except the Duke of Shrewsbury, and one or two more, were in the same opinion. The queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and I think it may appear, from several

* Lord Harcourt. D. S. † Dr. Atterbury. D. S.

passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents. The chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear. And, as he first lessened his confidence with the queen, by pressing her upon those very points for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: or, if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons, he continued his excuses to the Duke of Ormond for not advancing the money; and, during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly changed toward him; she complained of his silence and sullenness; and in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might very probably have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the Lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him, which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends, on both sides, had not too much observed the common prudential forms of not caring to intermeddle; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my Lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved,* upon account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left, except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy

* It should be—'as he well deserved to be.' S.

or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment, without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but in two days after, I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three bishoprics for some time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the Earl of Oxford, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties, not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed. I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion; when his lordship freely told me, "That he had been earnest with the queen upon that matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end." This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died; and two nights after, sitting with him and Lord Bolingbroke, in Lady Masham's lodgings at St. James's for some hours, I told the treasurer, "That, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishoprics in Ireland; which, since his lordship told me was out of his power, I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions, first, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and secondly, whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months?" Lord Bolingbroke an-

swered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire, to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my lord treasurer, and, three days after, in her majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material, for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the queen to her service in the place of others, with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running on a sudden into such a common beaten court track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse, of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissention; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen; who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes; which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice. She had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her own sex. And lastly (as I have before observed) having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault, was the treasurer; who, not being able to influence the queen in many points with relation

to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state prudence, "That a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power." But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate toward his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving, at the expense of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers, and one or two friends of the treasurer, constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually opposed the queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment, which, beside other advantages, gave that lord the power of choosing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer "That this was whipping day." Upon which, the Secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said, "It was a strange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's (who was then also present) the treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the queen upon that very point without effect." Whereupon, this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company, "That he had at last prevailed with her majesty; and the thing would be done in two days:" which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the Earl of

Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all; not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady Masham; but likewise from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common justice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honour of the Secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

CHAP. II.

WRITTEN ABOUT A YEAR AFTER.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the pretender: for, upon the Earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, "that the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world;" and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue. This discovery we all expected from the report of the secret committee: but, when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state pamphlet arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters; and for what related to the pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on, in personal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gualtier; which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I conceive, that whoever is at distance enough, to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a public report delivered to the house of commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl, were

not altogether founded upon the report; or at least, that those important hints about bringing in the pretender, were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet, than an impeachment; since this accusation has no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years residence in the Tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation, I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance, for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make, on their first appearance: whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of choosing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late queen, nor her ministers, did ever entertain a design of bringing in the pretender during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances,* which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those

* 'I must *premise with* three circumstances,' &c. *premise with*—is not English; it should be—'I must premise *that* there are three circumstances,' &c. S.

among my friends, who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, "whether they, or any of their friends, did in earnest believe, or suspect, the queen, or the ministry, to have any favourable regards toward the pretender?" They all confessed, for themselves, "that they believed nothing of the matter." And particularly, a person at present in great employment, said to me, with much frankness, "you set up the church and Sacheverell against us; and we set up trade and the pretender against you."

The second point I would observe, is this, that during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, "whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except those who professed to be nonjurors) that discovered the least inclination toward the pretender?" And the whole number they could muster up, did not amount to above five or six; among which, one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most. I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the pretender; and among these, not six of any quality or consequence; but how it has come to pass that several

millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain; and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word let fall in favour of the pretender, although I was curious enough to observe in a particular manner what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion: because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And I confess, it is with the expense of some patience, that I hear this matter summarily determined, by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffeehouse: or at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point, can have no influence farther than my own personal credit reaches; yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular, from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they allege; which has not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to those who will hear reason, that the queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known, that those whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low church part; not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the rest: among which, I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyll; the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Hay, and Orrery; the Lords Mansel and Masham, with several others, whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the Earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterward: which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the pretender. She was highly and publicly displeased with my Lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his lordship was sent to France, upon some difficulties about the peace. Her majesty said, "that he ought immediately to have withdrawn upon the appearance of the other:" wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, as made it manifest how little

she deserved those reproaches, which have been cast on her since her death upon that account.

Besides, I have already said, that her majesty began those changes at court, for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some, whose interest it was to obstruct it: That when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them, somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witness.

I am forced to repeat, what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded, to dismiss any person upon the score of party; and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my Lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger, of breaking the measures she was most fond of, toward settling the repose of Europe. She had, besides, upon the removal of the Duchess of Marlborough, chosen another great lady to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: a lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those, who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: and this her majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection, against several clergymen recommended to her for promotions in the church, was, their being too violent in party. And a lady, in high favour with her, has frequently assured me, "That, whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons, who, upon

all occasions, with great virulence opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and at the same time condemn her for too much party zeal."

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the pretender, at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when King James II. abdicated. They found a prince upon the throne before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: for the adherents of King James II. were all either dead, or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that, if any guilt were contracted by the revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only* to answer for it. And I am confident (with an exception to professed nonjurors) there was not one man in ten thousand, through England, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by† arguing the prodigious disaffection at present; because the same thing has happened before, from the same cause, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument, for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, toward the house of Hanover, that during my Lord Oxford's administration, there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illus-

* This position of the word, only, often occasions ambiguity; it should be—'that our *ancestors only* were to answer for it.' S.

† It should be—'by arguing *from* the,' &c. S.

trious house, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended toward altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: for, hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience has shown. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy, than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with France and Spain, were calculated, in several points, directly against the pretender, as he has now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial, than the politics of those, who could be brought to think that the regent of France would ever engage in measures against the present King of England; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking, or not taking his public character, as in the case of the Earl of Stairs, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot be sufficiently wondered at. What can be plainer, than that the chief interest of the Duke of Orleans is woven and twisted with that of King George; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young King of France to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession has been broken for his sake; by which means, he likewise will be encumbered with a pretender, and there-

by engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And as this design was originally intended and avowed by the queen's ministers, in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present king succeeded to these crowns, with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief, for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess, as her late majesty. The parliament was most unanimous, in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design, which France or Spain might probably have laid, to make a diversion, by an invasion upon Scotland, with the pretender at the head, in case her majesty had happened to die during the course of the war: and upon the death of the late French king, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with England; as the queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England, toward the house of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprise. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the

same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been, either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace, so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But, if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that succession, and valued for* zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a share in the assiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true, I appeal to M. de Buys, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all her majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this farther, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amid all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me, "That he had power from the pensionary to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain condi-

* It should be—'for *being* zealous defenders of it.' S.

tions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the pretender." How this happened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power: for, then their affairs were growing desperate, by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the queen's favour; both which became so public, as well as her majesty's bad state of health, that I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the last ministry, as an instance of their inclination toward the pretender, "That they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the house of Hanover." And on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed, to satisfy and inform the elector and his ministers, in every step taken by her majesty, and what offers were made to his highness, for any farther securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to Earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and some others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which has often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes: and this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old bedmaker,* by officiously going to one door, when gratitude as well as common sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expense of some thousand lives, and several millions of mo-

* Mrs. Foisson, necessary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by Lady Masham. D. S.

ney. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness, of a beggarly Dutchman,* who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry, to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum, to a very inconsiderable French vagrant,† gave the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation, were conveyed.

The second point which I conceived myself able to make out, is this: that if the queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them, to have begun and prosecuted that design, as soon as they came into her majesty's service.

There were two circumstances, which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden; for the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor; and as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity: so that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary

* Carew Lord Hunsdon, born and bred in Holland. D. S.

† Robethon, then at Hanover, but in the service of some other German prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the elector. D. S.

way, some* years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious, and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed toward absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not then the case.

The other circumstance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophecy. And how little a time the ministers had, for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged, from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of Hanover. And the universal declaration both among lords and commons at that time, as well in favour of the elector, as against the pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the Duke of Shrewsbury's opinion: "that there could be no doubt of the elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the

* 'Some years,' &c. This sentence is very uncouth in its arrangement, and far from being clear as to meaning. It might be thus amended—'Some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, *in order* to have rendered one person odious, and the *other* amiable.' S.

future disaffection of the church and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive." And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article; that knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the queen's demise, they, by their coming into power, had utterly and for ever broken all measures with the opposite party; and that in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate. Yet their actions showed them so far from any view toward the pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures, which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to the protestant succession in the person of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil, was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince, by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party, acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge; of which truth, Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use, farther than to discover my own resent-

ment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or of courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry by the house of commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the Elector of Hanover, with instructions to offer his highness any farther securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from Hanover, signifying, in direct terms, "that the elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her." He writ to the same purpose to one of the under-secretaries; and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what has since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain, where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess, at least, an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I *said*, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may

pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed, how well it was known at court, what measures the elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place; and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the church party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor, to have procured a house of commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments, can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority at least of three in four; because the trouble and expense would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard, merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for, by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a step, while the house of commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed: at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so ne-

cessary; whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a house of lords has been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature at that time could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves: which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King Charles I. although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the pretender, will perhaps be at some difficulty to fix the time, when that design was in agitation: for, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods, when her majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the house of Hanover not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence: all which, however, had no other consequence, than that of repeated messages of kindness and assurance to the elector. During the last two years of the queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered* how she could hold out so long: and then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprise which required so

* *It should be—'wondered at.'* S.

much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable, by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissentions, which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree, that this design of overthrowing the succession, could not be owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse; for they know very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test, by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shown how the interests of the queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her majesty was several years younger than her intended successor; and at the beginning of that ministry, had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortner of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress: so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history, of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprise of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry, in such circumstances, durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrender-

ed their employments, than hazard the loss of their heads, at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an accusation, that I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till toward the end of their ministry; and then, very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions (as restiness is commonly attended with slowness) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred, will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the chevalier her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It has been objected against the late queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition toward the house of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in England: and at the same time, it ought to be observed, that this objection was raised and spread, by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him; offering, among other arguments against it, the example of Queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she would not live with her gravestone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover family, as the legislature could do it: and the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same *kingdom* and metropolis with the sovereign, while the

nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved; and therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family dissentions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterward offer many reasons for it, in a discourse intended for the public, but stopped by the queen's death, that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in England: by which, I conceived, the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm, before I offered it: neither were they nor their mistress to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what has since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon those two points, which I proposed to discourse on, wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions:

for I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it so falls out, that among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other: so that, whoever professes to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations, of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies; although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, inactive, or ill designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope; or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For, abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers: and where will they find a thread to wind themselves off this labyrinth; or will not rather

wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For, whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controllable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari:* because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For, the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies, nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequences will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

THE

ADDRESS

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS

TO

THE QUEEN.

APRIL 9, 1713.

Drawn up by Dr. Swift, at the command of the Lord Treasurer; and delivered by the Duke of Grafton.

"Lord Treasurer showed me some of the queen's speech, which I corrected in several places; and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech." Journal to Stella, March 8, 1712—13.

"Lord Treasurer engaged me to dine with him to day; and I had ready what he wanted." Ibid. March 15.

"I dined again with Lord Treasurer; but, the parliament being prorogued, I must keep what I have till next week; for I believe he will not see it till the evening before the session." Ibid. March 17.

"I dined again with Lord Treasurer; and though the business I had with him is something against Thursday, when the parliament is to meet, and this is Tuesday, he put it off till to-morrow. Ibid. April 7, 1713.

THE

ADDRESS

TO

THE QUEEN.

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do, with the greatest joy and satisfaction, return our humble thanks to your majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne; and for communicating to this house that peace is agreed on, so honourable to your majesty, and safe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the blessing of God, that your people will in a few years recover themselves, after so long and expensive a war. We likewise beg leave to congratulate with your majesty upon the success of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt but that your majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector of the Protestant religion, would do every thing for securing the Protestant succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary, than the perfect harmony there is between your majesty and the house of Hanover. And we do humbly assure your majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence (next under

God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent sovereign.

DR. SWIFT'S

MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN.

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of ministry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, and the proceedings since in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity, if they should fall under the pen of some writer of the opposite party, as they probably may.

Upon these reasons, it is necessary, for the honour of the queen, and in justice to her servants, that some able hand should be immediately employed to write the history of her majesty's reign; that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of St. Patrick's is ready to undertake this work; humbly desiring her majesty will please to appoint him her historiographer,* not from any view of the profit (which is so inconsiderable that it will hardly serve to pay the expense of searching offices,)

* Lord Orrery, in his Remarks, p. 29, gives an unfriendly turn to this request; but, if his lordship had adverted to the *date* of Dr. Swift's letter to Mr. Pope (June 20, 1721,) which occasioned those remarks, or had ever seen the memorial which was presented to the queen, he never could have spoken so slightingly of Dr. Swift, who had been some time in possession of his deanery when this memorial was presented; and to whom the *profits* of the historiographer's office must certainly have been an inconsiderable object. N.

but from an earnest desire to serve his queen
country; for which that employment will qualify
by an opportunity of access to those places where
pers and records are kept, which will be necessar
any who undertake such an history.

ANECDOTE RELATIVE TO THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr. Helvetius was sent from Paris, by Torcy, to Devenwordt, at the Hague, with the first proposals for a peace separate with Holland; a year after which, the preliminaries at Gertruydenberg were transacted by the Marshal D'Uxelles and Polignac; and afterwards Mesnager was privately despatched to the same effect.

My Lord Strafford had the first intimation of these separate transactions of France and Holland from the Duke of Marlborough (as a thing a good while before in agitation) and afterwards from Devenwordt himself, who told him, "that he sent to Paris for Dr. Helvetius, to cure him of a rheumatism; which opportunity Torcy took to negotiate by him." Helvetius since confirmed the same story to my Lord Strafford,* in the year 1720.

* Lord Strafford governed, for a considerable time, the court of Berlin, and made his own fortune, by being well with Madame De Wartenberg, the first King of Prussia's mistress. Chesterfield, letter ccxvi.—This King of Prussia died in February, 1713. N.

END OF VOLUME SIXTH.

C. S. VAN WINKLE, PRINTER,
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